Vol. XXIII No 91 September 1934

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Ireland and the Reform of Democracy — *Michael Tierney*

II. Saint Ignatius at Montmartre .... — *Herbert Thurston*

III. Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh — *Aubrey Gwynn*

IV. Social Work in Holland .... — *Virginia M. Crawford*

V. Berkeley and Swift as National Economists — *J. M. Hone*

VI. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 31 .... — *Lambert McKenna*

VII. The Other Hidden Ireland .... — *Aodh de Blacam*

III. Charles O'Conor of Belanagare .... — *Charles O'Conor*

IX. General Charles Kilmaine, 1751-1799 .... — *Richard Hayes*

X. Thomas Dongan : Soldier and Statesman .... — *P. W. Browne*

XI. The Belgian Congo .... — *Joseph O'Mara*

XII. Reviews of Books

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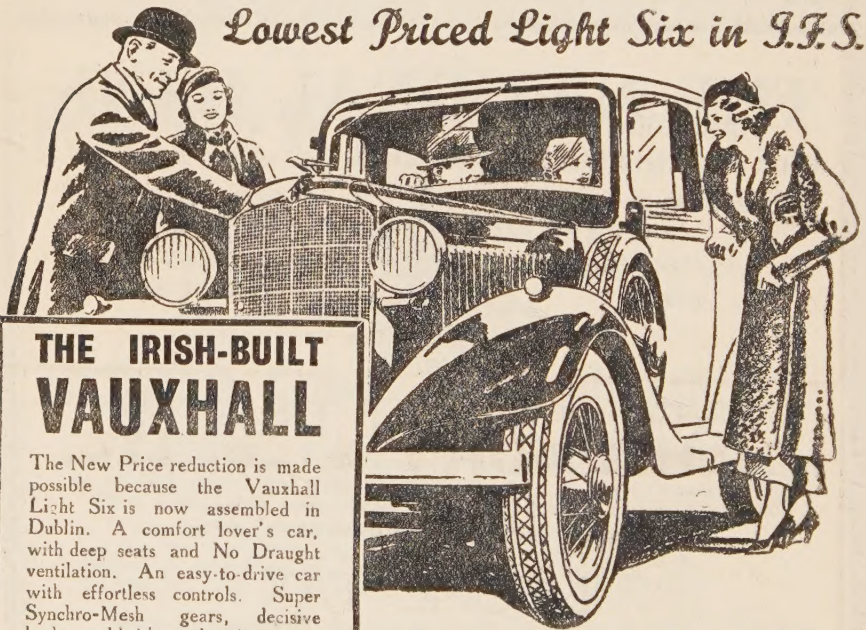

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VOL. XXIII No. 91

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1934

CONTENTS

			PAGE
I.	IRELAND AND THE REFORM OF DEMOCRACY	*Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.*	369
II.	SAINT IGNATIUS AT MONTMARTRE, 1534-1934	*Herbert Thurston, S.J.*	383
III.	RICHARD FITZRALPH, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH	*Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	395
IV.	SOCIAL WORK IN HOLLAND	*Virginia M. Crawford*	412
V.	BERKELEY AND SWIFT AS NATIONAL ECONOMISTS	*J. M. Hone*	421
VI.	IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 31	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	433
VII.	THE OTHER HIDDEN IRELAND	*Aodh de Blacam*	439
VIII.	CHARLES O'CONOR OF BELANAGARE	*Charles O'Conor, S.J.*	455
IX.	GENERAL CHARLES JENNINGS KILMAINE, 1751-1799	*Dr. Richard Hayes*	470
X.	THOMAS DONGAN: SOLDIER AND STATESMAN	*Professor P. W. Browne, D.D.*	489
XI.	THE BELGIAN CONGO	*Joseph O'Mara, S.J.*	502

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Jesus Christ, 512.—Ad Viros Religiosos, 513.—The Mass of the Western Rites, 515.—Claudius, 516.—I, Claudius, 516.—Saint John Bosco's Early Apostolate, 518.—Don Bosco, 518.—Saint John Bosco, 518.—Framework of an Ordered Society, 520.—Voyage à travers le Capitalisme, 520.—The Great Depression, 520.—International Labour Conference, 520.—Fruits of Freedom, 520.—Economics for Ourselves, 520.—The Nemesis of Economic Nationalism, 520.—A Child's Book of Religion, 524.—La Question scolaire, 524.—Comenius in England, 525.—L'Eglise et l'Enfant, 526.—L'Irlande, 526.—The Irish Struggle and its Results, 528.—Life of Patrick H. Pearse, 528.—Mediaeval Religion, 530.—The Separated Eastern Churches, 531.—The Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant, 532.—Medieval Theories of the Papacy, 534.—Fondements d'une Culture Chrétienne, 535.—Précis d'Histoire de la Philosophie moderne, 537.—The Conception of God in the Philosophy of Aquinas, 539.—William James et le Pragmatisme religieux, 541.

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IRELAND AND THE REFORM OF DEMOCRACY

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin

DEMOCRACY of one kind or another may be described as the specifically European form of government. Until very recently it was generally assumed to be the form best suited for all civilised peoples; and in virtue of a kind of apocalyptic delusion, inherited partly from the theorists of 1789 and partly from the English philosophic radicals of a generation later, there was an implicit belief that it was destined ultimately to triumph over all other forms and to become itself the vehicle of a permanent golden age. Recent experience has allied with the obvious lesson of history to prove that on the contrary it is a most unstable and impermanent system. Twenty years ago military dictatorship was thought to be an exceptional unpleasantness, and anarchy to be merely a brief catastrophe. The truth, which is now more evident, is that military dictatorship has been the most lasting of all methods of ruling civilised peoples, and that if a history of anarchy were ever written, it would have to cover far longer periods than a history of democracy. Like the highest and most active types of civilisation itself, democracy is a flower of delicate nature and brief duration.

The reason for this comparative impermanence is plain enough. Like civilisation, democracy is a difficult enterprise, a complex and subtle way of life. Autocracy is the easiest and safest refuge for humanity when the higher and more dangerous form of government has broken down. It is a short-cut method of saving civilisation from anarchy. To use a phrase applied by Professor Gilbert Murray to the breakdown of ancient

paganism, it represents a "failure of nerve" on the part of society. Its processes are simpler, its methods cruder, swifter, and more brutal than those of democracy. Under autocratic rule, culture is narrowed till it becomes the peculiar property of a small class, and is thus preserved and sometimes brought to a very high level indeed. Democracy, which in essence means the fullest participation by all citizens in the activity of self-government, is almost synonymous with universal culture. This requires so complex an organisation, so widespread a submission to voluntary discipline, such austere standards of taste and action as to seem almost an impossible ideal. Plato tells us that what ruined Athenian democracy was the growth of "a general conceit of universal knowledge and contempt for law." The ancient world abandoned the democratic ideal as hopeless; and it was in fact Christianity, which in this as in so many other respects brought about a renaissance of what was finest in Hellenism, that kept alive the possibility of democracy for the modern world.

In so far as the dogma of equality, which is fundamental to modern theories of democracy, is true, it derives its truth from the Christian glorification of the human personality. It is as dangerous to assume that equality can be easily or quickly realised in practice as it is to assume that all men are by nature perfect. Unfortunately, the mysticism of modern revolution has not only made both assumptions, but has confounded them into one. Instead of being represented as a difficult and seldom-attained ideal, requiring for even an approximate realisation a laborious expansion of culture, taste, and discipline, democracy has been preached as a natural right denied to naturally perfect citizens by the malignance of reaction. Liberty, in which Plato saw the ruin of democracy at Athens, has been made into its aim and instrument by modern theory. Perfection has been sought for it all at once by short cuts and by the crude

and simple processes more suitable to its competitors. Everyone is by now aware of the fact that modern democracy has its weaknesses, and many have proposed to banish these weaknesses by banishing democracy along with them. Indeed it is difficult to avoid the pessimistic conclusion that in modern as in ancient times it may be necessary for democracy to die in order that civilisation may continue to live. In the alternative, the vicious types of so-called democracy, which in the crudeness of their methods and the violence of their ideas are almost indistinguishable from dictatorships, may end by destroying both the one and the other.

The defects of modern types of democracy have been recently analysed with great perspicacity and in much detail by a convinced democrat who is also a distinguished economist, Professor Bernard Lavergne of the University of Lille.[1] It is not necessary to agree entirely with his views in order to realise the force of what he says. He is not of course isolated in his criticism, for in recent years French political thinkers have shown themselves to be anything but satisfied with the republican principles which sufficed their immediate forebears. What is most striking about M. Lavergne's book is the friendliness as well as the thoroughness of his criticism and the fact that he proposes a well-thought-out remedy for the defects he lays bare. More than this, he essays a task which has been strangely neglected for almost a century; he tries to give an objective and critical justification for the whole theory of democracy. It is open to doubt whether his theory or his practical remedies go far enough; but at any rate no more urgent task confronts believers in democracy everywhere than that they should re-examine the foundations for their belief and produce a practical scheme of reform for defects that are becoming daily more obvious. As Mr. John J. Horgan remarked

[1] *Le Gouvernement des Démocraties Modernes.* Paris: Alcan. 1933. Two Volumes. 50 francs.

in his able and stimulating article "The Problem of Government," which appeared in STUDIES for last December, it is time that we should create a system of government capable of meeting the needs of modern civilisation. In Ireland more than anywhere else we need a renovation both of the theory of democracy and its practice. Both must be finally and inexorably divorced from the superficial mysticism of the French Revolution, the visionary materialism of the English Liberal school, and the confused and inadequate mechanisms which revolutionaries and radicals have imposed upon older political theories and systems.

The weaknesses which have led to so much wreckage in modern democratic systems may be grouped under three main heads. First and most fundamental is the defective nature of the theories on which are founded the doctrine of the Rights of Man and of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. These theories, for us at any rate, are tainted at their very source in the rationalist speculations of the 17th and 18th centuries. They are not based upon experience or drawn from sound philosophic postulates; they represent for the most part an illegitimate transformation of Christian teaching on the personality of man and the destiny of the soul; and they are vitiated from the standpoint of objective historical criticism by the apocalyptic and prophetic aberrations which always accompany them, and which are inseparable alike from the Jacobin revolutionary fervour, the optimistic materialism of the English radicals, laissez-faire, "free trade," and the inverted Hegelian dialectic of Marx.

The second type of weakness in modern democracy is associated with its machinery. Based as it is on an extreme individualism, it has gradually suppressed all forms of social organisation other than the crude mechanisms of universal suffrage, the party system, and an exclusively sovereign parliament. This process of suppression began at once with the centralising activities

of the first revolutionary government in France, and has since spread to all democratic countries. It should be noted that the differences between the English and the French systems, so often adverted to, are from the critical standpoint more apparent than real ; both systems are closely interconnected in their origins and mutual influence. Not one of the three pillars upon which all modern democracies have come to rest can be said to be capable of bearing the weight that has been put upon it. M. Lavergne has made it his business to expose the theoretical and practical shortcomings of universal suffrage. It is easy to criticise in the same manner both the party system and the exclusive sovereignty of parliaments, whose geographically representative character makes up but poorly indeed for their general lack of real competence, culture, or clearness of aim.

The third weakness of democracy has been less often remarked, and is in fact neglected by M. Lavergne as outside his immediate subject. It arises from the emergence in fairly recent times of the notion of what it is now fashionable to call the Totalitarian State. Propaganda may represent this notion as being peculiar to dictatorial regimes ; but in fact it is quite as rife, though in a less obvious or less blatant form, in constitutionally-governed countries. It is the notion that the machinery of the State is and ought to be co-extensive with the whole organisation of society, and that all forms of social activity are the unique business of the State. We have it here in Ireland in quite a virulent form, and are unconscious of its presence. Apparently very few Irishmen have as yet found it queer that the whole historic legacy of our people, and all the immense task of reconstruction that has fallen to the lot of the present generation, should be the exclusive property and the peculiar duty of a handful of politicians, whose selection has had no reference to the nature of the task and whose competence for any task has been tested

solely by the efficiency of their electoral machine. This is only one aspect of the matter. Another is the growing list of extraordinary and in fact dictatorial powers that are almost daily being conferred upon ministers and their departments—powers which enable them to interfere in every activity of the ordinary citizen and against which he is rendered quite defenceless. This idea of the State as the unique organ of society is again a legacy from the French Revolution. In part it derives from the tradition of the ancient pagan Empire, and in part from the visionary Jacobin deification of the State, which has triumphed over the equally visionary individualism of the English radicals.

As is well known, these exclusive pretensions on the part of the State have been very clearly exposed and solemnly condemned by the present Pope in his great Encyclical of 1931. While pointing out the evils to society and the individual consequent upon such a conception of the State, he is no less clear as to its evil consequences for the State itself. It has taken on itself, he says, "an infinity of affairs and duties" which it was never intended to bear and is unable to bear with any competency, and as a result it has become "submerged and overwhelmed." That this is the case in Ireland as elsewhere is plain to anyone familiar either with the work of Ministers or with the hopeless and chronic congestion of parliamentary business. The overwhelming of the State machine has been accentuated in our case by the fact that our system and prejudices have prevented any proper use being made of the Senate. It will be completed if the present hasty and short-sighted policy of abolishing the Senate is persisted in. Our method of legislation is in any case based very largely upon the cumbrous traditional system of Great Britain, and could be overhauled and speeded up with great advantage. The Totalitarian State is an evil and a blight under any regime ; it is a disaster under a democracy

of the modern type, for it strains still further a machine little capable of bearing any strain. Its concomitant is the growth of bureaucracy. It might be expected that when a State undertakes so many burdens, the old-fashioned red tape and the ancient methods of treadmill delays and irrelevant checks and controls would be abolished or reformed. But everybody knows that in our system at the present day the fetish of so-called financial control has become an incubus on every activity of the State. When there is added to all these defects the lunacy of rigid party discipline, which prevents any question whatever from being debated on its merits or viewed otherwise than through a fog of childish hatreds, the picture of chaos is complete.

M. Lavergne, whose book is mainly concerned with a searching examination of only one of the weaknesses enumerated above—universal suffrage—has propounded both a new theory in justification of that suffrage itself as part of the State mechanism and a highly interesting plan for supplementing it with a second suffrage of another type. Departing almost entirely from the traditional but obviously insufficient rationalist doctrines of the Revolution, he justifies universal suffrage by recourse to an economic principle. Every citizen, he points out, is, by his very birth, a consumer of State services. For these he pays in return either by way of taxes or by way of liability to military service. He has therefore a right to participate directly or indirectly in the management of the means of production which supply his needs as a citizen. The universality and equality of the suffrage is justified by invoking, as a fundamental moral postulate accepted by all, the doctrine of the equal value of every person. Finally, the suffrage is direct and not indirect, because only the consumer himself can know his own needs. Thus by basing it in part on the co-operative principle and in part on the moral doctrine of personality, universal suffrage is given a new theoretical sanction,

but only, be it noted, *as a function of the consumer.* Every citizen has also the quality of producer to a greater or less degree. On this complementary quality M. Lavergne bases his theory of a new type of suffrage, which he calls "social" as distinct from "individual;" and it is in this second part of his system that his practical originality lies.

The consumer's interest, whence he derives his right to the individual, universal, direct and equal franchise, is essentially a private interest. A parliament based solely on such a franchise, as all parliaments are today, can only represent the sum of all the private interests in the State. Such a parliament is utterly incapable, by its very nature, of representing the general interest, to which modern democracy purports to give expression. A "second pillar" must therefore be added to the substructure of the State. It will consist of the will and the competence of all producers, that is to say of all citizens in their capacity as creators of *social* values. In that capacity, each citizen will be given a second franchise, but in contradistinction to the first, this franchise will be unequal and indirect; unequal because obviously all citizens are not creators of social values to an equal degree, and indirect because the creation of social values is essentially a corporate, not an individual activity. It will, however, be universal, appertaining to each citizen in direct proportion to his status in this regard. M. Lavergne thus comes very close to the idea which lies at the base of the corporative system. The differences, however, between his scheme and those of the usual corporative type are very important. In the first place, he proposes to assign to the representatives elected on this social franchise an equal place in both houses of parliament with those elected on the individual franchise. He therefore envisages nothing in the nature of a Corporative Chamber or economic parliament. In the second place, while the representatives elected on

the social franchise are to be chosen not directly by the voter, but indirectly by the bodies to which he belongs by vocation or signifies his adherence by ballot, these bodies are not necessarily to have any corporate existence for other purposes.

M. Lavergne's scheme divides the bodies through which the social franchise is to be exercised into three groups, two large and one small. The most important is that of the scientific bodies, to which M. Lavergne attaches much more weight as producers of social values than he does to those whose activities are merely economic. Representatives of the scientific bodies, which are grouped so as to include every variety of technical competence, from minor government inspectors to heads of departments and from elementary teachers to university professors, doctors, lawyers and engineers, are to number nearly twice those of the economic bodies. In the second group all industry and agriculture is graded in hierarchical order according to social value. This hierarchical grouping is, of course, fundamental to the whole scheme ; it insures, for example, that professors of economics are given more representation than professors of dead languages, and that managerial capacity is rated higher than manual labour. One of its results is that small farmers and labourers of every description are grouped together in one category, which also includes everyone not already assigned and which is thus the largest by far in the numerical sense but the smallest in point of influence. The third group, to which a quarter of the social representation is assigned, consists of " associations of general interest," and it is proposed that in it place should be found not merely for large charitable organisations but even for those which exist for the preaching of some social gospel or other such as anti-alcoholism. The danger of admitting such completely voluntary and fluctuating societies to a special franchise is a little offset by the fact that in reality the franchise will belong only

to their central authorities ; but even with this limitation, many will doubt the wisdom of the proposal. An interesting parallel to it is the proposal of the late Lord Glenavy to give bodies like the Gaelic League and the G.A.A. a special franchise for the election of the Free State Senate.

On the title-page of his book, M. Lavergne prints as a motto the sentence : " Frenchmen are now represented in Parliament, but France is not." The whole purpose of the book is to indicate a means by which the national interest can be given an effective voice in the control of the nation's affairs. The proposal that professional or vocational representatives should be given an equal footing in parliament with the representatives of a universal suffrage is merely a special form of an idea which has been discussed in France since the days of Saint-Simon, although generally neglected by republican theorists. M. Lavergne is careful to dissociate himself from the propagandists of the corporative state. He sees danger in such a system from the pressure of economic interests and corporative appetites, and points out quite rightly that in Italy the dictatorship is still the real government. No one can fail to agree with him as to the reality of the danger to a State organised on exclusively corporative lines ; and for this reason alone his justification of the " consumer's suffrage " and his weighing of the scales in favour of scientific competence, which smacks a little of American " technocracy," deserve favourable attention. Apart from the facile condemnation of government by scientists as " the illusion of a philosopher," two criticisms can be brought against his scheme as a whole. In the first place the remedy he offers for a complex, deep-seated, and long-continued disease is too simple. It suffers from the common radical defect of schemes which begin by pointing out a whole series of faults and then trust to an electoral device to counteract them all. Although more worthy of respect than pro-

portional representation, so often preached as a universal saviour for democracy, it is doubtful whether his double suffrage, leaving as they are parliament, the party system, and the centralised State machine, would be very much more adequate.

In the second place and arising out of the first criticism, the placing of his "social representatives" on an equal footing in both houses with "individual representatives" would seem to lead to a needless complication of institutions, and instead of checking the ravages of the party system, might render it more virulent because more confused. It is difficult to see, once the principle of the social suffrage is applied to parliament, where the necessity exists for a Senate of the usual indirectly-elected type. One may well sympathise with his desire for the most complete equality between the two types of representative, without thinking it imperative to distribute them over the existing houses of parliament. Their equality could very well be preserved, if they were confined to one house, by a redistribution of functions. Indeed one of the great defects of present-day systems is the British tradition that sovereignty resides to a peculiar degree in the Commons—a tradition which more than any other single factor has contributed to the overwhelming of the State machine, of which the Pope speaks. Apart from these criticisms, M. Lavergne's scheme will hardly meet the need for reform precisely for the reason that it does nothing towards the re-establishment of vocational groups, which the Pope declares should be the aim of social legislation. The electoral bodies envisaged by M. Lavergne for the purpose of his social franchise are for the most part not organic corporations or vocational groups, but more or less accidental collocations of individuals. Thus the vice of excessive individualism, which he has sternly expelled by the front door, creeps in again at the back. He rightly rejects the "economic councils," of whose inadequacy both Germany and his own country

have given sad proof during recent years. But it is surely possible to find another middle course, besides his simple electoral device, between the bugbear of domination by vested interests on the one hand and the harmless respectability of "economic councils" on the other.

At any rate, M. Lavergne's book has two great merits. It provides a reasonable theoretical foundation for the doctrine of universal suffrage, and it insists at the same time on the inadequacy of the traditional belief that the wisdom of the community can be best found by counting heads. In this country "majority rule" is generally defended rather as an empirical principle, which has the advantage that it works, than as a logical or philosophical doctrine. Its working, however, has admittedly been fairly imperfect, and no one can honestly say that it draws out what is best in the nation. Here as elsewhere the conviction is growing that side by side with numerical representation there should also be representation of vocational and professional activity, and that this representation should be given at least an equal share in the work of governing. This idea was plainly present in the minds of those who framed the Saorstát Constitution, whose 45th Article empowers the Oireachtas "to provide for the establishment of Functional or Vocational Councils representing branches of the social or economic life of the Nation." Such Councils might of course be of the innocuous type which was new in 1921, when the German Constitution had just introduced it. On the other hand they might be made into the machinery which would at once fulfil the demand made by the Papal Encyclical and provide parliament with a new type of trained representative standing for a well-defined social group. Sooner or later this reorganisation of the social framework will be undertaken. It must be the work of the State itself abdicating its exclusive claims to be the unique mouthpiece and controller of

social action. Nothing could be more regrettable in this regard than the policy which mutilates and destroys the imperfect organs at present existing, such as the Senate, without creating any newer or more efficient organs to take their place.

A Corporative Chamber, representing not accidental *ad hoc* associations, but organic vocational groups which should have their own functions and duties in society—such is the substitute for the present Senate which is called for by the circumstances of the time and by the certain needs of democracy itself. The organisation of such a Chamber would require a long period, during which the present Senate should be allowed to function, at least with its already curtailed powers of delay. The abolition of the Second Chamber and the institution of what will amount to mere party-dictatorship are a short-cut of the kind more familiar in autocratically-governed countries than in democracies. Attempts to justify such a reactionary step can only be made by appealing to the worst kind of rationalist sophistry, which turned the rule of a numerical majority a century ago into an inhuman tyranny. It is extremely significant that in the debates on the question the doctrinal authorities appealed to, not indeed always successfully, for justification, were the theorists of the French revolution or of English philosophic radicalism. The abolition of university representation is again a return to the simple and violent ideology of the revolution, which denies social value to anything but mere number.

If democracy in Ireland is to become a really native and Christian thing, more has to be done than merely reform the franchise or even create a Corporative Chamber. The whole political doctrine inherited from atheistic revolutionaries and radicals must first be got rid of, with its accompaniment of false mysticism and utopian prophecy. How active this revolutionary illusion can still be is shown with remarkable clarity in Mr. Lionel

Curtis's recent book *Civitas Dei.* There the Kingdom of God is identified with the English parliamentary system, represented as yet destined to be the foundation of a world-kingdom. We must reject all such absurdities and recognise that political utopianism is in essence irreligious and ultimately disastrous to humanity. Democratic principles must be divorced from the Rights of Man and placed in their true environment of Christian charity, personal dignity and social co-operation. This criticism of first principles is of much more importance than it may appear, for political errors are in very many cases only the practice of false doctrines, often unconsciously held. Unfortunately such false doctrines, after nearly a century and a half of revolutionary nationalism, are by now deeply ingrained even in our people.

The consequence of this preliminary clearance will be a more objective and critical attitude towards the more or less makeshift institutions which we have inherited. The sovereignty of Parliament must be modified, and with it must go our own peculiar version of the Totalitarian State. The confusion between executive power and legislative function, which we have partly copied and partly intensified, must be corrected by a greater separation of government and parliament, by a wider distribution of functions now confined to a Dáil which is unable to perform them, and by the institution of some kind of non-political headship of the state above parliament and executive alike. Last year a commentator in an English Catholic journal, discussing the new Austrian constitution, expressed his deep regret that the Irish Free State should not have been the first to undertake the establishment of a political system based rather on Catholic philosophical principles than on the relics of 19th century parliamentarian radicalism. It is not yet clear that we have not the time, if we have the will, to do what is necessary.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

SAINT IGNATIUS AT MONTMARTRE[1]

August 1534—August 1934

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THERE is probably no phase of religious history which in our day has been made the subject of more exhaustive investigation than the origin and early developments of the Society of Jesus. The immense mass of materials printed in the sixty-two volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* are by themselves alone almost overwhelming, though roughly speaking they do not cover a period of more than about five-and-thirty years. The independent researches conducted by Fathers Astrain, Cros, Fouqueray, Creixell, Schurhammer, Brou, Tacchi-Venturi, Pollen, Duhr, Alfred Poncelet and many more would lead us to believe that there can now be little more to glean in the way of original sources. Père Dudon has therefore chosen a propitious moment for the appearance of his Life of St. Ignatius Loyola, first because he has waited until he had before him all the facts that are ever likely to be known concerning the Saint's interior spirit and external activities, and secondly because this narrative, admirably presented from a literary point of view, does fitting honour to a great occasion—to wit, the fourth centenary of what is in effect the birthday of the Jesuit Order.

It is curious perhaps that in that group of "Seven Holy Founders"—the Servite Fathers, I trust, will not resent my borrowing the phrase—who took vows at Montmartre on August 15, 1534, no Frenchman was included. Pierre Le Fèvre, who, as the only priest amongst them, celebrated Mass and gave Communion to the rest,

[1] *Saint Ignace de Loyola.* Par le Père Paul Dudon, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1934. Pp. xx, 664. 50 fr.

was a Savoyard and not a subject of King Francis I. Five of the seven were Spaniards, and one, Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese. When, however, they renewed their engagements at the same shrine, Ignatius being absent, in 1535, Claude Le Jay, a fellow countryman of Le Fèvre, had been added to their number, and in the next year there were two Frenchmen, Paschase Broet and Jean Codure, who pledged themselves in the same terms. From that time onwards the city of Paris and the soil of France have given an endless succession of heroic recruits to the little "Company" which Ignatius at the college of Sainte-Barbe had begun to rally round him. More perhaps than any other land France has been a battle-ground upon which his sons have hardly ever known a respite from hostilities. First it was the Calvinism of the Huguenots, then Jansenism, then Gallicanism, then the Deism which begot the Encyclopédistes and the atheism of Voltaire, and finally they are the foe singled out for the most violent attacks of the anti-clericalism and the Communism characteristic of our own times.

Comparing Père Dudon's work and some other Ignatian biographies of recent date with those which were most in favour a century ago, one is favourably impressed by the change which our modern critical methods have brought about in the treatment of hagiographical records. Formerly the whole purpose of the biographer was to glorify his hero. Whatever could dim the lustre of the picture which tradition had painted was studiously glossed over or suppressed. Whatever, on the other hand, seemed likely to enhance the conception formed of his holiness and marvellous powers was assumed to have a presumption in its favour and was asserted unhesitatingly upon the slenderest of evidence. In the case of St. Ignatius, Father Astrain more than thirty years ago had the courage to point out that such methods, besides being misleading, were altogether

unworthy of the cause which they pretended to serve. He made it clear, for example, that the early years of Inigo de Loyola had certainly not been free from reproach. In the seventeenth century the idea had come to prevail that even in the camp the future Saint had been a model of every knightly virtue. Like Chaucer's paragon, he was held to be—

> A worthy man
> That from the tymé that he first began
> To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
> Truth and honour, freedom and curteisye.
>
> . . — — — —
>
> He never yet no vileinye ne sayde
> In al his lyf unto no maner wight:
> He was a verray parfit gentle knight.

We know now that this was by no means a description which fitted the Inigo of Pampeluna days. It is certain that the Corregidor of Azpeitia had brought him to trial, accusing him of *delitos enormes* (scandalous infractions of the law), and that when exemption from the jurisdiction of the secular courts was pleaded, upon the ground that the accused was a clerk in minor orders, the Corregidor was able to reply that Inigo, in flagrant violation of the canons recently enacted, wore no tonsure, dressed in gay colours according to the prevailing fashion, and habitually carried arms. Moreover there is a story of a street brawl in which the same young cavalier, having been jostled in a narrow passage, whipped out his sword and threatened that if anyone did not make way for him he would run him through [1] or fight a duel then and there. We are not fully informed about these incidents, but there can be no reason to doubt that there was serious ground for the imputations thus made. The Saint himself, in the autobiographical notes he was prevailed upon to dictate, lets us see plainly enough that he led the

[1] See Astrain, *Historia*, vol. I, pp. 15-16; and *Monumenta Ignatiana* (Series IV), vol I, pp. 566 and 580-597.

life of other young gallants, and indeed the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* suggests the same conclusion. Are we not listening to the echo of Inigo's own conscience when in the meditations *de peccatis* it is so unequivocally taken for granted that everyone who comes to make a retreat must have sinned grievously and deserved hell, not once only, but many times over.

A curious illustration of the tendency of eighteenth century hagiographers to amplify and exaggerate all that in their view made for edification may be borrowed from the biography by Father Mariani, S.J., which was translated years ago in the Oratorian series. Speaking of the austerities which the Saint practised at Manresa after his conversion, Mariani says :—

> He slept only a few hours in the night with a stone for his pillow on the bare ground, and this in the midst of winter and whilst his health was weak. He scourged himself four or five times in the night with iron chains, till he had satisfied the fervour of his devotion. He used to kneel seven hours in the day in prayer, and not content with this, assisted at Mass and the divine offices. He fasted every day except Sunday, on which day, after refreshing his soul with the Bread of Angels, he dined off the herbs and wine which might be given him ; and even this repast, we are told by Jacob (*sic*) Lainez, he used to mingle with earth and cinders.[1]

No one will question that the life led by St. Ignatius at Manresa was one of extraordinary austerity and that his health broke down under the strain. Neither is it of any practical consequence whether the precise details supplied are accurate or not. All the same, one cannot but regret an exaggeration which looks like reckless misstatement. The letter of Father Lainez to Polanco giving a sketch of the Saint's early days has been recently published in the *Monumenta*, but it says nothing about his mixing his food with earth and cinders.[2] So again it was not winter but the end of March when the Saint

[1] Mariani, *Life of Ignatius Loyola* (Oratorian translation, 1848), vol. I, p. 30.
[2] *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 102.

arrived at Manresa, and as soon as winter came round again, as he tells us himself, he fell ill once more and during that cold season was nursed and cared for by charitable friends, who also induced him to put on warmer clothes and to give up his practice of going barefoot.[1] But what is most likely to attract attention in the passage just cited is the assertion that the penitent "scourged himself four or five times in the night with iron chains." Now, as it happens, Father Ribadeneira, who became the privileged intimate of the Saint and was his first biographer, tells us very precisely that at Manresa he took the discipline three times every day (*se disciplinava tres vezes cada dia*)[2]; but neither he nor any other reliable authority speaks of his rising for the purpose four or five times in the night, nor indeed makes mention of iron chains. Ignatius himself in his dictated notes says nothing of this, but he does reveal that he spent seven hours a day upon his knees and that while residing in the Dominican priory he always rose at midnight for the office. There was no ostentation in these disclosures. What little we are suffered to know about his austerities and about the favours he received from heaven was wrung from him by the importunity of his disciples. Father Ribadeneira, who, as just stated, was probably more privileged than any one else in penetrating the reserve of his beloved superior, tells us expressly—I quote from Father Michael Walpole's English translation of 1616 :—

> That which caused us, who knew and conversed with this holy Father, most admiration is that, these favours of our Lord being so ordinary and daily, ... we scarce ever heard him speak or make mention of any revelation, vision, rapt, ecstasy or other thing of this kind; but only of humility, charity, patience, contempt of himself, zeal of God's glory, labouring for the good of souls, prayer, mortification, and other such virtues of which he made great account. For these be such as make men saints and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 56. Many seventeenth century writers seem to have believed, contrary to all the evidence, that the Saint actually lived in the cave at Manresa.

[2] See Ribadeneira, *Vida de S. Ignacio*, Bk. I, cap. 5, and more particularly his testimony in the Process, printed in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series 4, vol. II, p. 155

friends of God; and those other things, though they shine more in the eyes of men, are but signs, and not always certain, of sanctity and grace.

While it does not seem probable that such a man could have furnished much information about his past austerities, our ignorance assuredly provides no excuse for dressing up conjecture in the guise of historical fact.

Happily in all these matters Père Dudon, like most of the Saint's more recent biographers, sets an admirable example of reticence and discretion. Many pious enthusiasts of the seventeenth century had persuaded themselves that the book of the Spiritual Exercises had been dictated to St. Ignatius at Manresa by Our Lady herself. *Scripsit illa quidem Ignatius sed dictante Maria* says the *Imago primi Saeculi*. Father Dudon, while fully recognising the Saint's ardent devotion to the Mother of God and the help which he continually received from her, is firm in his refusal to entertain the idea of any such direct co-operation from on high. The book, he argues at some length, is in a true sense the work of Ignatius. The claims made for the Benedictine Abbot Cisneros, as Father Codina has shown in detail,[1] are nugatory. But we must admit that considerable traces of the influence of many spiritual writers—*e.g.*, of Ludolfus the Carthusian, of Thomas a Kempis, of Gerard of Zutphen, of Mombaer and of Werner—are apparent both in the thought and in the phraseology of the text ultimately adopted in the completed work. Our author concludes, and in my judgment concludes rightly, that Father Codina goes somewhat too far in his attempt to show that the Exercises date as a whole from the eleven months which measured the Saint's residence at Manresa. In the heading of his chapter XIII devoted to "the Composition of the Book of the Exercises," Père Dudon significantly adds the figures 1522-1540, and we cannot reject the explicit statement of St. Ignatius made to

[1] See Codina *Los Origines de los Ejercitios Espirituales* (1926), especially ch. XVI.

Father Gonzales de Camera that "the Exercises were not composed all at once." In saying this the Saint explained that "certain things which he observed in his soul and which he himself had found useful seemed to him likely to be useful to other people and so he had jotted them down from time to time in writing." Similarly Father Nadal expressly notes that Ignatius, "*after finishing his studies*, put into shape his first outlines of the Exercises. He added much and revised the whole."[1]

Let me add to this the fact that we possess some sort of copy of the booklet, made before it had assumed its final shape. Strangely enough this does not come from a Jesuit source, but is the autograph of an English secular priest, an exile for the faith, one John Helyar. He seems to have left England in 1534 or 1535, and certain scribblings in his manuscript (now Regina 2004 in the Vatican Library) enable us to date it approximately 1535-1537. How Helyar had been able to make this copy—it is in Latin—can only be matter of conjecture; but the interesting point remains that while the greater part of the text closely corresponds with the earliest Latin version known to us, there are here and there substantial differences and many still more notable omissions. Father Codina is disposed to treat the added clauses as interpolations made by Helyar or derived from some intermediate source, but I must confess that this view impresses me as extremely inprobable. It is unusual for a man copying a work of edification, which he evidently regards as spiritually precious, to introduce amplifications of his own as if they were part of the text before him. The additions, which are only occasional, do not notably change the meaning, and, *pace* Father Codina, they do not seem to me to conflict with the mind of the Saint or with his rather literal way of presenting spiritual truths. The obvious interpretation is, I submit, that Helyar's copy was made while the manual of practical guidance

[1] *Epistolae Patris Natalis*, vol. IV., p. 826.

which is known to us as the book of the Exercises was still imperfect and subject to revision.[1] Moreover this, if I mistake not, is the view both of Father Tacchi-Venturi,[2] who first called attention to the Vatican manuscript, and of Père Dudon when touching on the matter in the book before us.[3]

In any case we must agree that if the Exercises had been dictated by Our Blessed Lady at Manresa, they could hardly be in need of subsequent emendation. Let us, then, pay homage by all means to the glowing terms in which the present Holy Father in his encyclical *Mens nostra* (December 20, 1929) has commended the method, the simple directness, the sound teaching and the high ideals manifest in all their contents. But this does not require us to believe, as is still seemingly maintained by some enthusiastic countrymen of the Saint, that the text of this precious manual was divinely inspired and may claim a veneration hardly less than that which we pay to the words of Holy Writ.

The same wish to invest all that Ignatius did or said with a halo of the miraculous seems to be responsible for the persistence of the idea that an exact conception of the future Society was revealed to the Founder even before he made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Father Dudon explains intelligibly enough how this impression originated, paying tribute to the convincing essay of the late Père Van Ortroy, the Bollandist, who in 1908 was the first who ventured to deal straightforwardly with the evidence on its merits.[4] It is, to begin with, certain that the Saint on leaving Manresa was quite undecided regarding his future course. We know that he wanted to remain in Jerusalem and to settle down there. When

[1] Helyar's copy has been edited in the *Monumenta Ignatiana*, series II, pp. 624-648. *Cf. The Month*, October, 1923, pp. 336-347, and Father Codina's comments on this article in his *Los Origines de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, pp. 43-44.

[2] Tacchi-Venturi, *Storia della Comp. di Gesu in Italia*, vol. II, p. 40.

[3] Dudon, *Saint Ignace*, p. 289.

[4] See specially Père Dudon's Appendix, pp. 622-625. Van Ortroy's paper will be found in the *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. XXVII, pp. 393-418.

that proved impossible, he debated with himself at Barcelona, so he tells us, whether he should enter some religious community or rather go wandering as a pilgrim through the world. Polanco also expressly affirms that, though he gathered disciples around him at Alcala, Salamanca and Paris, there was not, down to the year 1539, that is to say seventeen years after the supposed supernatural intimation at Manresa, any thought amongst them of founding a religious Order (*nihil de religione instituenda cogitaverunt*). Further the vows they took at Montmartre did not bind them to any profession of obedience. They pledged themselves to poverty and chastity, adding to these an undertaking that when their studies were finished they would make their way to Jerusalem—with the reservation that if after waiting twelve months, such a journey proved impossible, they would then place themselves at the disposition of the Sovereign Pontiff to carry out any work he might direct. All this is surely irreconcilable with the idea that Ignatius was acting in accord with a definite programme which he had learnt by divine revelation. Moreover the case is much strengthened when we study the circumstances under which their final decision was taken, not only to add a vow of obedience to the religious vows already made, but to elect a superior, to choose a name by which their association should be known, and to obtain papal confirmation for their design. Much interesting matter bearing on these points will be found in the preface and contents of the volume published this year, 1934, in continuation of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*. It deals with the consultations and other incidents preliminary to the writing of the constitutions of the Order, but the documents printed therein are too heterogeneous and too detailed to admit of notice here.[1]

[1] This volume, entitled *Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia*, is the first to appear of Series 3 of the *Monumenta Ignatiana*. Père Dudon expresses his gratitude for having been permitted to consult the proof sheets of this work while his own was being written.

So far then as our sources enable us to form a judgment, we are led to think that it was characteristic of God's dealing with Ignatius and his companions to leave them in ignorance of the future. There may have been assurances, visions, revelations, vouchsafed by Our Blessed Lord to His devoted follower. Indeed we know that there were many, and though Ignatius was most reluctant to speak about them, they continued to the end of his life. Apart from what we are told in the Autobiography, the very curious diary kept by the Saint for over twelve months at the time the Constitutions were under discussion[1] affords many illustrations of this aspect of his mystical experience. But all these heavenly intimations seem to have been extremely indefinite in character, like the visions of St. John in the Apocalypse. Such adumbrations of the future may be identified in the retrospect after the events have actually come to pass, but apart from a general indication of principles of conduct they afford no guidance at the time. We may believe that Our Lord dealt with Loyola very much as He did with St. Peter when He said: "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." It would not perhaps be too much to affirm that in quite a remarkable way the career of the Founder of the Society was a long dramatisation of Newman's famous hymn:—

> Keep Thou my feet: I do not ask to see
> The distant scene; one step enough for me.
> I was not ever thus, nor pray'd that Thou
> Shoulds't lead me on:
> I loved to choose and see my path; but now
> Lead Thou me on.
> I loved the garish day, and spite of fears
> Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.

The missionary idea was prominent in Inigo's mind from the beginning of his conversion, but his preoccu-

[1] This is printed in full in the work just mentioned, *Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia*, pp. 86-158.

pation was with the Moslems who had made themselves masters of the Holy Land. This dream was never realised, but circumstances even in his own life-time brought about marvellous developments in the Far East, in Africa and elsewhere. The Society was destined to be the backbone of the Counter-Reformation movement, but though the English monarch had brought his quarrel with the Holy See to a climax in the very year that the little company first took their vows at Montmartre, and though Paris was then seething with the scandals caused in that city by Calvin and the other enemies of the Church, we find in the scanty Jesuit memorials of that date comparatively little reference to any conscious purpose of organising a campaign against the new heresies. The higher education of youth was ere long to become almost the monopoly of Loyola's trained disciples, but he himself at the beginning seems to have been mainly concerned with the humble task of teaching Christian Doctrine, the Catechism in other words, to the neglected children of the poor and to the poor themselves. I doubt if any more definite aim was present to his mind at Paris, at Venice and in the first few years at Rome than what was summed up in the maxim "*To God's greater glory*," for "this," says Father Walpole translating Ribadeneira, "was always as it were the poesy of Ignatius, and the soul and life of all his workes." He was content to leave the Company at the absolute disposal of the Vicar of Christ to do with its members as God might inspire.

I am glad to find, what I had not previously adverted to, that the view just expounded was also the conclusion reached independently a good many years ago by my old friend and colleague, now no longer with us, Father J. H. Pollen. While an opposite theory was still warmly defended, and long before such painstaking investigators as Fathers Tacchi-Venturi, M. Meschler, Huonder and Dudon had expressed an opinion, Father Pollen as the

result of his own long continued study wrote as follows in *The Month* (July 1909) :—

> To sum up. Ignatius may well have been specially assisted from on high in fashioning the Society. To the present writer that conclusion seems (all things considered) certain. But it seems hardly possible to believe that that Divine assistance took the form of a prophetic vision of the future Society seen in the first year after his conversion. The whole sequence of events, the conduct and professions of the Saint suggest something very different—that his great work in life dawned on him step by step. The marvel is that he never failed or faltered amid so many difficulties, never took a wrong step among so many illusive prospects, that he profited by every misfortune, and at the end was in a position to lay the foundations of his wonderful work so widely, truly and finally, that they have never yet needed or received any substantial reform or reconstitution.

It is a consolation to know that in spite of the weight of inherited prejudice non-Catholic writers are coming round to a much more just appreciation of the character and work of the great founder of the Society of Jesus. Father Dudon in his bibliography speaks appreciatively of H. Böhmer's *Studien*, but he mentions no English biography of the Saint but that of Francis Thompson. The very fair and open-minded Lives published of late years by H. D. Sedgwick and Paul Van Dyke do not seem to have come under his notice.

HERBERT THURSTON

RICHARD FITZRALPH, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

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Part III*

FITZRALPH'S last dated sermon at Avignon was preached on the feast of St. Thomas Becket, Dec. 29, 1344. He must have returned to England early in the following year, for the diary of his sermons which still survives shows that he was preaching in Lichfield in March and April of 1345. The change which we have already noted in FitzRalph's theological views is reflected in the new series of sermons which begins with his return to the ordinary duties of his office as Dean of Lichfield. As compared with the more formal sermons which he had preached before the papal curia in Avignon, these Lichfield sermons are very much more simple and direct in their appeal. Indeed the very fact that FitzRalph now begins to keep a regular diary of his sermons, recording in Latin the main points of his sermons, though these are usually stated to have been preached *in vulgari ad populum*, is an indication that the Dean has acquired a new interest in that *officium devoti predicatoris* for which he was yearning in his last weeks at Avignon.

From this date to the end of FitzRalph's life, thanks to this sermon-diary, we can follow his movements with singular accuracy, and we can also reconstruct in detail the manner of his apostolate. One point is at once obvious. Hitherto FitzRalph had preached to his clerical audiences in Latin, just as he had lectured in Latin to his classes in Oxford. Now he begins to use vernacular English as

* For Parts I–II see issues of September and December 1933.

the normal medium of his instructions and exhortations. There are in all twenty sermons which he preached at Lichfield and in the neighbouring parishes during the years 1345 and 1346; and there are the notes of twenty-nine sermons which he preached as Archbishop of Armagh in the years 1347 to 1357. The great majority of these are definitely noted in his diary as having been preached *in vulgari*, though occasionally Latin is used for a clerical audience. On Maundy Thursday 1345, for example, shortly after his return from Avignon, the Dean preached a sermon on the text *Hoc est corpus meum* which contains a full statement of his views on Eucharistic theology. This sermon was delivered in Latin, presumably in Lichfield cathedral, and FitzRalph refers back to it more than once in later portions of his diary, when there is question of some doctrine connected with the Eucharist. Similarly in the years 1352 and 1355 FitzRalph, now Archbishop of Armagh, preached in Latin before the two Provincial Councils which he held at Drogheda in these two years. But apart from such exceptional occasions, English is the normal language of his preaching. And we have interesting proof that the Dean felt himself to be somewhat of an innovator in this direction. Dr. G. R. Owst has made it abundantly plain that English was the normal medium of all popular preaching in the fourteenth century, and FitzRalph was following a well-established custom in his ordinary parochial sermons. But the Dean was also invited to preach on special occasions before distinguished audiences; and his notes of a sermon he preached in the spring of 1347 on the occasion of a public procession for the King show that the Archbishop-elect, as FitzRalph then was, thinks it necessary to apologise for his use of the vernacular before so distinguished an audience. Three reasons are given to explain this departure from precedent. They can all be reduced to a simple statement that the laity do not understand Latin, and that it would be necessary either to repeat

all that had been said in an English translation or else to leave a large section of the audience unsatisfied. So the Archbishop translates the text at once into English, and then continues his sermon in that tongue.

Some other points are worth noting in FitzRalph's method of preaching to popular audiences. The subject of the sermon is taken as a rule from the Epistle or Gospel of the day (the Sarum rite being followed) or from the life of the Saint whose feast it is. Sometimes the preacher begins by reading the Gospel in Latin, then goes back and reads it in English, explaining it sentence by sentence, and ending with a homily on the subject-matter of the text. At other times FitzRalph takes his theme from the liturgical ceremonies of the day; for example, in one sermon he explains in detail the various customs connected with the procession on the Rogation Days.

FitzRalph's activities at Lichfield during the eighteen months which followed his return from Avignon need not detain us any longer. The dates which are given in the diary of his sermons show that his custom was to preach in the spring, early summer and autumn of each year; but as a rule there are no notes of sermons in any month from the end of May to November. Custom seems to have reserved the duty of preaching to the seasons of Lent, Easter and Advent with an occasional sermon for some special feast. Meanwhile FitzRalph must have been busy with the ordinary work of the diocese and with the building of the present Lichfield cathedral. He had influential connections at home and in the papal curia, and promotion must have been expected. Grandisson was still Bishop of Exeter, and his Oxford friend and contemporary, Bradwardine, was royal chaplain to Edward III for several years past. Richard of Bury, who had acted as his patron just ten years previously, died at Durham within a few weeks of FitzRalph's return to Lichfield, having completed his *Philobiblon* (apparently with much help from Fitz-

Ralph's contemporary Holcote) on January 24, 1345. But the Bishop of Durham had long since ceased to be Chancellor of England, and FitzRalph's personal friendship with the new Pope, Clement VI, was a more valuable asset than any friendship with an English prelate. And there were connections at home in the diocese of Armagh, which we can only trace obscurely in the few facts that have been recorded by chance in extant documents. FitzRalph had been a Canon of Armagh ever since 1335; and in May 1344, when his long sojourn at Avignon was drawing to a close, he had sought and obtained benefices in various Irish dioceses for his three nephews, Richard and Edmund FitzRalph and John Brisbon. A more significant incident is connected with the name of a certain Roger Sampford, a priest of the diocese of Armagh, who was granted the provision of the church of Tartaraghan in the diocese of Armagh at the request of Archbishop David Mageraghty in the year 1343. FitzRalph's name occurs as one of the executors of the grant, and his connection with Roger Sampford is explained by the statement in the papal document that Sampford had been six times at the Roman curia on the business of the See of Armagh. Plainly FitzRalph and Sampford had shown themselves useful agents of the Archbishop in the transaction of his official business with the curia. Soon after this first provision Sampford is made a Canon of the diocese, and it was Sampford whom FitzRalph sent to Avignon as his personal representative, when it became necessary for him to petition the Pope for the pallium in 1347.

These few surviving details show us that FitzRalph must have been more closely in touch with the affairs of the diocese of Armagh than would appear from the external record of his activities during all the long years at Oxford, Lichfield and Avignon. David Mageraghty had been Archbishop of Armagh since July 1334, and his pontificate, which lasted for just under twelve years,

marks a revival of Irish influence in the primatial See. His three immediate predecessors had all been of English birth and had all died in England. That fact alone would show that English influence was paramount in the diocese once the death of Nicholas Mac Mael Isa (May 10, 1303) had deprived Ireland of a prelate who was able to make headway against the interference of English officials in the affairs of the Church. David Mageraghty had been Dean of Armagh under Archbishop Seagrave, and his unanimous selection by the chapter of the diocese in 1334 seems to have been intended as a protest against the English policy of forcing English-born prelates on the local clergy. Little is known of the work done by Archbishop Mageraghty, whose name is of special interest to Irish readers as being the name of the last Archbishop of Armagh for many centuries whose family was of pure Irish origin. Like most of his predecessors and successors in this century, he was involved in continual financial difficulties—due in great part to the overbearing exactions of the King's officers in his diocese ; and he was involved in a dispute with the Archbishop of Dublin, arising from the Primate's claim to have his cross borne before him within the diocese of Dublin, of which more must be said later. His death on May 16, 1346, re-opened the question of succession. Would the Primacy go to one of native birth or to an Englishman ? We may suspect that the chapter was divided into two opposing parties on this all-important issue : the conflict between Irish and English was always acute in this area, where lay the borderline between two worlds. But a compromise was possible, and the fact that Richard FitzRalph was unanimously selected by the chapter within a few weeks of the Archbishop's death suggests that a compromise was agreed to. FitzRalph was of English blood and English speech ; but he had been born and educated at Dundalk, and his family were at the moment playing a prominent part in the life of the town. He was also a theologian who had

made his mark both at Oxford and Avignon, and his work at Lichfield had proved him both an able administrator and a zealous preacher. His choice as Archbishop was thus a natural decision in the circumstances of the day, and indeed the chapter's selection gave Ireland one of the ablest and most energetic of the many Anglo-Norman prelates who occupied Irish sees during the Middle Ages.

News of the chapter's decision was brought to FitzRalph at Lichfield, very probably by his friend Roger Sampford; and the Primate-elect lost no time in notifying the chapter of his formal acceptance. In doing so, both he and the chapter had placed themselves in a false position. These were the years when the Kings of England were exerting all their power to secure complete control of the nominations to every see in their kingdoms; and the Popes at Avignon, aware of the danger to ecclesiastical independence, were using every available means to centralise at least the more important nominations in the papal curia. In a long series of papal decrees nomination to the chief sees of every European kingdom is expressly reserved to the Roman See; and Pope Clement VI had reserved all future appointments to the see of Armagh in this manner. The precise date of this papal reservation is not known; and it is possible that the reservation dates only from the news of Archbishop Mageraghty's death. But the reservation had been made before news reached Avignon of the chapter's election and of FitzRalph's acceptance. FitzRalph was thus in an awkward position. An unfriendly Pope might have set the chapter's candidate aside and appointed some other candidate. But the Archbishop-elect was personally known to Pope Clement VI, and in any case his selection had so many obvious advantages that it is probable that no other candidate was seriously considered. The Pope referred the matter at once to the Cardinals, and on their advice decided to annul the attempted

election and then, in virtue of his own plenary powers, to appoint the man whom the chapter had already selected by unanimous vote. The letter in which this news is conveyed to FitzRalph at Lichfield is dated from Avignon on July 30, 1346; and similar letters were sent on the same day to the chapter and clergy of Armagh, the suffragans of the see of Armagh, and the English king.

FitzRalph was presumably at Lichfield during these anxious weeks. An entry in the register of Roger de Norbury, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, shows that the Pope's confirmation of the election was not the only point to be settled. News of the Armagh election had hardly reached England when Edward III set about securing the vacant deanery for one of his favourite agents, John Thoresby, at this moment keeper of the privy seal. Thoresby was granted the deanery of Lichfield by the Pope, at the King's instance, on August 6, 1346. But the deanery was not yet vacant; for FitzRalph had not done homage for the temporalities of his new see, nor was he yet consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. Friction between the Dean and the chapter was not an unnatural result of this awkward dilemma, and the Bishop, Roger de Norbury, to whom appeal was made by both parties, appointed a commission to investigate the matter during the summer. The outcome of this inquiry is unknown; but FitzRalph seems to have remained active as Dean until the end of the year. He preached twice at Lichfield cathedral (on November 25 and December 3); and this latter sermon was preached on the first Sunday of Advent—a day when the Dean was required by statute to preach in the cathedral. His formal resignation must have followed soon after; for we find him on the road to London in January. On Epiphany Day he preached at Burford in Oxfordshire; and the locality suggests that he visited the University on his way to the capital. It would have been a natural step to take,

for the influence of the University was of importance for a man in his position; but we have no direct proof of such contact with the University at this time.

Meanwhile the new Archbishop had to face the problem which beset every prelate in those days of undue royal interference. Edward III had lost no time in securing the deanery of Lichfield for his keeper of the seal; but he was less eager to settle the question of the temporalities of Armagh. As early as June 22, 1346, a royal mandate dated from Porchester, had ordered the Justiciary, Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland, and the barons of the Exchequer in Dublin to take information as to what answer had been made to the King during previous vacancies of the archbishopric of Armagh. In the meantime they are to commit to the Dean and chapter of the diocese custody of the temporalities of the see, to be held during the vacancy. Those who have studied the records of the mediaeval Church in Ireland will know what grim possibilities of rapine and plunder lie behind this form of words. An Irish Archbishop had trouble enough during his lifetime to protect the property of his see from the rapacity of the King's ministers in Ireland; but his death was the signal for a wholsesale occupation of these temporalities, and the longer the vacancy lasted, the better pleased were the King's ministers. This mandate on behalf of the Dean and chapter shows that—on paper at least—the King meant well; but the King was in England, and his ministers in Ireland knew few scruples in such matters. It was thus of vital importance for FitzRalph to secure the surrender to himself of the temporalities of his new see; and his journey from Lichfield to London was plainly a first move in the long negotiations that were inevitable at this stage. To add to the Archbishop's difficulties, the King, who had fought and won the battle of Crecy in the preceding summer, was still absent in France, where he was engaged in pressing the siege of Calais to a success-

ful conclusion. FitzRalph had thus to treat with the King's representatives in England; and the delay between his confirmation and consecration is largely explained by this accidental obstacle. The record of his official homage for the temporalities of his see has not been preserved; but a later document gives us the date, Feb. 15, 1347, and adds the important fact that FitzRalph was required formally to renounce those words in the papal letter of confirmation which were prejudicial to the royal claims. Pope Clement's action in reserving the nomination of all future Archbishops to himself was plainly a source of anxiety to the King's legal advisers. Two months more passed in the final negotiations for a settlement, but no details have been preserved. Finally the King signed an order on April 15, 1347, by which the Justiciary in Ireland was required to cause all temporalities of the see of Armagh to be restored to the new Archbishop.

FitzRalph had delayed his consecration until this matter of the temporalities was finally settled; and he evidently expected to be detained for some time longer in England. For on April 20th, five days after the King's order to the Justiciary, he secured official letters, by which John Rauf and William Sweyn were nominated as his attorneys in Ireland for the space of one year. John Rauf is the John Rauf of Dundalk whose name occurs frequently in the official records of the period; and his constant association with others of the name of Dovedale and Brisbon (both families connected by marriage with the Archbishop's kinsfolk) makes it highly probable that the Archbishop's first attorney was the recognised head of his own family in Ireland. Once again, it is plain that FitzRalph had more intimate contacts with his native city than might at first sight appear.

Meanwhile the Archbishop-elect of Armagh, whose reputation as a preacher had been established both at Avignon and Lichfield, was invited to deliver an

important public sermon in the city of London, where he was later to become famous for his public attacks on the Mendicant Friars. FitzRalph's first public appearance in the city was connected with the public processions that were organised in the years 1346 and 1347 for the intentions of the King and his army in France (*pro rege et principibus*, as the Archbishop phrases it in one of the entries in his sermon-diary). Only one of these sermons is dated in our MSS. (April 11, 1347); but the remaining two seem to have been preached on the occasion of two public processions held in the year 1346. The three are closely connected by their contents, for they all make frequent reference to the wars in France and the recent successes of the English army. Crecy had been fought in the summer of 1346, and FitzRalph's friend Bradwardine, who was with the King as chaplain on that campaign, preached a sermon of thanksgiving before the army which has been preserved in one of the Latin MSS. of Merton College. It was during these stirring months of victory over-seas that FitzRalph was invited to address the citizens of London. In one sermon on the text *Orate pro invicem* FitzRalph reminds the people that they have a special duty to pray for the King, that his life may be a just life, that he may be guided by wise counsels, and that he may reach a just and happy issue of this war. But they are also warned that they are not to pray for the shedding of blood, for a man must always be mindful of charity in his prayers. In another sermon FitzRalph discusses the ethics of an invasion of France. Some hold, he says, that it is not lawful to invade another's country; but in this dispute one and the same person claims to be king of France and England, so that these two kingdoms must be considered as one according to the judgment of the realm—a doctrine that sounds cynically convenient to modern ears. But it is rooted in those mediaeval theories of lordship and ownership which FitzRalph was soon to expound more fully in another

connection. The main substance of the sermon is concerned again with the duty of prayer. The recent victory of Crecy has given them cause for thanksgiving; but prayer is needed that the King may be kept wise, humble and pure of life. No man may pray that the King should do wrong. And the subject-matter of the third sermon is wholly devoted to an exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

These three sermons are the only record we have of FitzRalph's activities as Archbishop-elect of Armagh. The long delay from his election to his consecration was only too common in those days when confirmation had to be sought from the King as well as the Pope; and we have seen that the final order concerning the temporalities of his see was only signed by Edward III on April 11, 1347. Meanwhile (in January of the same year) FitzRalph had been granted permission by Clement VI to be consecrated by any prelate of his own choice, provided that the prelate receives his oath of fidelity to the Roman See and sends it under seal to the papal curia. FitzRalph's purpose in seeking this permission is revealed by his choice of a consecrating Bishop. More than fifteen years had gone by since the days when he was seriously meditating the decision of a permanent attachment to the see of Exeter, and his friend Bishop Grandisson was still Bishop of that see. That an Archbishop of Armagh should be consecrated in Exeter has long seemed a puzzle to students of FitzRalph's career; and the fact has suggested a theory that FitzRalph was a native of Devonshire. But the friendship between these two men when FitzRalph was still an impecunious student of theology gives a simple explanation of the problem; and all that is known of Grandisson's personality shows that FitzRalph could hardly have chosen a more worthy consecrating Bishop, from whom he might hope to receive instructions and guidance in his new duties. For Grandisson was something more than a wealthy prelate with

a taste for art and letters. A Burgundian by origin, who for many years felt himself a stranger and an exile in his see at Exeter, Grandisson was one of the ablest and most zealous Bishops of his generation : a man who had learned his theology from the future Pope Benedict XII in the schools of Paris, and who had been inspired by the example of his teacher to devote his life to the cause of ecclesiastical reform. His Register, which still survives, gives the full record of his doings in Devonshire ; and the cathedral of Exeter, which he planned and built in great portion, is the noblest monument any prelate could wish to have as a memorial of his life's work.

A lover of art and a student, Bishop Grandisson was also a man whose whole soul was penetrated with an immense love for the grand liturgy of the Roman Church ; and the noble buildings which he erected at Exeter and at Ottery St. Mary's were planned in the first instance as a worthy setting for the due performance of the Church's ceremonies in the full majesty of her ritual. FitzRalph must have heard of the work that was being accomplished by his friend in this remote English diocese. In any case it was to Exeter that he chose to travel for his consecration in the summer of 1347 ; and it was in Exeter cathedral, then fresh in all the beauty of its new stonework, that he was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by Bishop Grandisson, the assistant Bishops being Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells ; Robert Wyville, Bishop of Salisbury ; and John de Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph. Bishop Grandisson's Register has an account of the ceremony, with the text of the oath of fidelity to the Pope, which was duly administered after the consecration. And there is then added a quaint note, telling how the newly consecrated Archbishop rode in state through the city of Exeter, " robed in his pontifical vestments, seated on a palfrey that was covered with a white cloth, as is the custom in the Roman curia." Grandisson must have taken pride in that piece of solemn

pageantry, which is in keeping with the whole spirit of his work at Exeter.

Following on this entry in Bishop Grandisson's register is a note to the effect that the newly consecrated Archbishop *ex commissione dicti domini Exoniensis Episcopi* went through the whole diocese of Exeter, confirming children, dedicating churches, etc. Bishop Grandisson's commission is given in full. By its terms Archbishop FitzRalph is empowered to dedicate churches and altars, reconcile churches and cemeteries, confirm children, bless and consecrate chalices and sacred vestments, and perform other similar episcopal functions. This commission is dated July 13, 1347, just five days after FitzRalph's consecration. Apparently the new Archbishop, who had hitherto had little experience of ordinary diocesan work, was glad of this opportunity of gaining practical knowledge under the guidance of so exceptional a teacher. It would be interesting to know how far he was able to apply Grandisson's principles of liturgical art and music in his own visitations of the churches of Louth and Meath in Ireland.

We do not know how long FitzRalph's tour of the diocese of Exeter lasted ; but it is very probable that the Archbishop went up once again from Devonshire to London before crossing to Ireland in the following spring. He had not yet met the King in person ; and his prospects of success in the difficult task that lay ahead of him would depend not a little on the relations between himself and the sovereign whose support was essential in all that concerned the temporal welfare of his diocese. And trouble of a more serious character had come his way already. For the past thirty years Alexander de Bicknor had ruled the see of Dublin, and his conduct had given both Pope and King ground enough for complaint. The Archbishop of Dublin had acted for many years as the King's Treasurer in Ireland ; and he had more than once fallen into disgrace in the fulfilment of his duties. In the year 1344,

when he had finally retired from this office, he found it necessary to obtain a pardon from the King for sundry false writs and acquittances which he had put into his Treasurer's accounts in deceit of the King. And the Archbishop's relations with the papal curia were hardly less disquieting. For years he had been engaged in an open feud with the Franciscan Bishop of Ossory, Richard de Ledrede, over certain heretics whom the zealous Franciscan had discovered in the city of Kilkenny. The Bishop of Ossory had sentenced one of these heretics to be burnt at the stake (the first known instance of this form of execution in Ireland), and had driven the others across the borders of his diocese. But Alexander de Bicknor gave them open support and a refuge in the city of Dublin. The dispute dragged on for years, and the Archbishop of Dublin seized the opportunity which was given him by the Bishop's absence in England and France to hold an annual visitation of the diocese of Ossory, where he exacted double procurations at the cost of the absent Bishop. Matters came to a head when the Bishop of Ossory answered a citation to Dublin, and was arrested and maltreated by the Archbishop's servants. The Bishop appealed from his Metropolitan to the Pope; but Alexander de Bicknor did not scruple to use violence in an attempt to block the appeal. An inquiry into the Archbishop's conduct was held at Avignon in the year 1346, and it was found that the Archbishop had been guilty of many grave offences in the past. He was summoned to the papal curia by Pope Clement VI, but refused to answer the citation; and the Pope then decided to put the whole matter into the hands of two of his Irish fellow-prelates. In a document dated from Avignon on 10 April, 1347, the Pope orders the Archbishop of Cashel and the Archbishop-elect of Armagh to make diligent inquiry into all the charges that have been brought by the Bishop of Ossory against the Archbishop of Dublin, and to report to the Pope on the results.

News of this formidable commission must have reached FitzRalph a few weeks before his consecration at Exeter; and a second commission from the Pope, dated 29 Sept. 1347, empowered him to accept the resignation of Nicholas, Abbot of the monastery of St. Thomas in Dublin. This second commission contains a phrase that shows how high an opinion of FitzRalph's ability was held by the Pope and his advisers in the curia; but it was none the less plain that this double charge would add a formidable burden to the responsibilities of the new Primate of Ireland.

The immediate result of this papal commission was to raise in an acute form the old-standing dispute between the Archbishops of Armagh and the Archbishops of Dublin as to the former's right to have his cross borne before him within the boundaries of the diocese of Dublin. More than one of FitzRalph's predecessors had been compelled to seek a dispensation from the King, by which they were exempted from personal attendance at the King's Parliament in Dublin, to avoid the brawls which had arisen from previous disputes on this subject. FitzRalph's immediate predecessor, David Mageraghty, had been (if we may trust the story of a mediaeval chronicler) forcibly prevented from lodging in St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, since he insisted on the recognition of his primatial rights. Was FitzRalph to waive a claim that had been made by so many of his predecessors? Or was he to face the inevitable brawl that would result from his appearance in Dublin preceded by the Primate's cross? Here was a matter of urgent importance, in which the King's support would be an essential condition of success. Most probably FitzRalph went in person to make his petition; but in any case a mandate issued from Westminster on April 5, 1348, orders the Justiciary and other officers of the King in Ireland to permit the Archbishop of Armagh to cause his cross to be borne erect before him in going and riding in any part of Ireland, in right of his primacy of Ireland, pursuant to privileges expressly granted to

him by the Apostolic See. Edward III was to revoke this order two years later, for reasons that will appear; but in the meantime the new Archbishop of Armagh had won a signal success in his assertion of a right that had been claimed in vain by some of his predecessors.

FitzRalph must have left London for Ireland immediately after the signing of this order; for we find him at Dundalk within less than three weeks. His first recorded sermon in Ireland was preached on Easter Tuesday, April 24, 1348, at Dundalk: it is a sermon on the Pater Noster, and the Archbishop makes direct allusion to the fact that he is returning to his kinsfolk. It is tempting to conjecture that the pallium had been solemnly conferred on the preceding Easter Sunday. For a papal document, dated August 29, 1347, empowers the two Bishops of Ardagh and Clonmacnois to convey the pallium to the new Primate; and we may presume that the ceremony took place as soon as possible after the Archbishop's arrival in Ireland. The next few weeks were devoted to a rapid tour of the neighbouring churches; and we have record of sermons preached by the Archbishop at Louth on April 27th; at Ardee on April 29th; at Drogheda on May 4th; and at Mansfieldstown on May 11th. Apart from the first sermon at Dundalk, these early sermons are of no special interest. They are recorded as having been preached *ad populum* or *in vulgari*: all that we know of FitzRalph's life and environment shows that these sermons must have been preached in the English language to the English inhabitants of these towns.

Further proofs of the King's favour were not lacking in this first summer of FitzRalph's residence in Ireland. On July 4th an order from the King enables the Archbishop's three nephews, Richard and Edmund FitzRalph and John Brisbon, and two other clerks in whom he is interested, to enter into undisputed occupation of the benefices which had been granted to them by the Pope

at the Archbishop's request. On July 10th another order from the King empowers the Archbishop to make attorneys before the King to sue and defend all pleas and quarrels for or against him, seeing that the Archbishop's temporalities are in divers parts and at long distances from the seat of his archbishopric, and for the most part among Irish. (The practical difficulties arising from these scattered holdings were later simplified by the Archbishop, who received power from the Pope to exchange many of them for more convenient lands). And on the same date (July 10th) an important order to the Justiciary of Ireland requires him to cause the temporalities of the see of Armagh to be restored without further delay to the new Archbishop. Apparently some of the King's ministers, with their customary ingenuity in such matters, had found a pretext for questioning his rights in the fact that the temporalities had been restored to him before, not after his consecration. Lastly, on August 12th of this same summer, an order from the King and Council empowers the Archbishop of Armagh, together with any of the sheriffs who will be present when summoned, to make peace with any men, English or Irish, throughout the land of Ireland who may be opposing the King and his faithful people. Henceforth Archbishop FitzRalph has full powers to treat with the King's enemies in the King's name and to arrange for terms of peace.

Normally the series of the Archbishop's sermons would have been resumed in October or November of the year; but his diocesan activities were interrupted for some months by the sudden outbreak of the Black Death, which first appeared simultaneously at Drogheda and Howth in the month of August 1348. But the narrative of this appalling visitation must be reserved for fuller treatment in a later article.

Aubrey Gwynn

SOCIAL WORK IN HOLLAND

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

THE tendency, prevalent in many quarters, to regard Holland as an essentially Protestant country, a land still influenced by the fierce struggle for liberty against Spain glorified by Motley in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, is quickly dispelled from the mind of any Catholic visitor to Holland today. Dutch Catholics number two fifths of the population and hold one third of the seats in the Dutch House of Commons, and over and above this favourable numerical basis what strikes the English visitor so forcibly is the robust energy of the Dutch Catholics and their obvious participation in the full national life. Catholics in England, it is true, number only some two millions, a large proportion of course being of Irish origin, and they are still in many ways a people apart, of somewhat narrow outlook, much as the Protestant body was in France in former times, leading a life of their own outside the main stream of national life and influencing it singularly little, in spite of certain prominent Catholic names in the professional and literary world. In Holland, on the contrary, in politics, in industrial organisation, in education, in school building, in housing, in wise charitable endeavour, the Catholic body is well to the fore, adapting to its special needs all the latest inventions of modern life. Hence, thanks partly to the frankly denominational basis on which so much of the public life in Holland is organised, the large compact minority of Catholics is in a singularly favourable position for exerting its influence in national affairs. Even a brief survey of Dutch Catholic activities is full of illuminating novelty for the foreign, and more especially the English visitor.

Take, for instance, the question of the press. In England, as is well known, there is no single Catholic daily paper or even one with any degree of Catholic outlook. Holland can boast thirty Catholic dailies, not religious papers in a strictly ecclesiastical sense, but papers giving all the general news of the day with the addition of items of special Catholic interest and with editorials based on Catholic principles. One of the more influential of these, the Rotterdam *Maasbode*, having a morning and evening edition each with a circulation of some 50,000, possesses large and luxurious editorial rooms as well as all the newest machines and technical appliances for up-to-date journalism. It is incalculable the effect such a press must have in enlightening public opinion and maintaining a Catholic outlook on life.

Take, again, the question of broadcasting. In Holland there is no government monopoly corresponding to our B.B.C. Under certain conditions any responsible body can obtain a license to broadcast. Dutch Catholics were quick to realise the vast advantages of possessing their own radio station; to effect this 160,000 Catholics pay a voluntary annual subscription of a few guilders, and the result is the admirably equipped station at Hilversum, a flourishing residential town near Utrecht, running two orchestras, making its own gramophone records and so forth. Eighty per cent. of the broadcasting, we were told, is devoted to topics of healthy general interest and the remaining twenty per cent. to religious subjects.

The modern Dutch have a passion for gay and vivid colouring, and from that point of view the Ladies of the Grail, with their bright cloaks and banners, so attractive a note at big Catholic functions, are not really so original as we all assumed on their first visits to London and Dublin. For all Holland seems in welcome revolt against the dreary chocolate browns and drab greens and buffs which, under the plea of long-wearing and

economy, have had so prolonged a favour among us for interior decoration. The country has happily ordained their total disappearance from all new buildings, whether public or private. Air, light, colour are the order of the day. This reform was delightfully apparent in the new Catholic schools we were privileged to visit. Thus, at a great elementary school for some 1,200 children run by Dominican Sisters on the outskirts of Amsterdam, all the wide corridors had high dadoes of cream tiles, woodwork to match, with all accessories, such as locks and door-plates, in a bright pale blue. The class-rooms, with vast windows, were distempered in pale shades and had gaily coloured striped curtains. Needless to say the educational equipment—the desks, the science cabinets, the Montessori toys and furniture, the apparatus of the splendid domestic economy wing for 100 pupils from 13 to 15—was all of the newest type. The general effect was of the most spacious and exhilarating kind, and it was impossible not to indulge in regretful comparisons with many Catholic establishments at home. This same convent possessed a beautiful refectory adorned with large frescoes of the life of St. Dominic, painted by a Benedictine father in gay flat colouring, shewing that the love of colour has penetrated even inside the cloister. It is only right to add that this splendid educational centre is due, on the financial side, to the tolerant spirit displayed by the Dutch government since 1919, when a satisfactory agreement was arrived at by which considerable financial assistance is given towards the building of schools both Catholic and Protestant.[1]

Unhappily our visit coinciding with the Whitsun holidays, we failed to see the scholars at work; but judging from the devout little people observed at Mass and the boys and girls in the streets, the Dutch children are usually very attractive in their neat clean clothes, with their white skins, blue eyes and very fair hair.

[1] See *Studies* Sept. 1929: "Catholic Holland" by Fergal McGrath, S.J.

Wandering through the great Reyksmuseum at Amsterdam, where the Dutch school of painting can be studied in all its glory, one realised that the Dutch people must always have been " house-proud," or surely their pictorial art would never have been devoted so largely to exquisitely accurate portraiture of the little brick houses they lived in and the charming luxurious interiors that lay behind the Gothic windows. No artists ever rendered more subtly the feel of velvet and fur, the texture of rich hangings. Even the kitchen interiors, one noted, with their brick floors and polished copper utensils and dainty orderliness, have no rivals in any other school of painting. House-craft, with its essential condition of scrupulous cleanliness, is surely one of the age-long characteristics of this northern people, and that it survives today in full vigour was made manifest to us when we inspected one of the new suburbs of Amsterdam.

Since the war, housing, in Holland as elsewhere, has been an urgent problem and the people seem to be solving it with characteristic vigour. In the first place they have no liking for municipal building, and remembering the neat and hygienic, but somehow conspicuously monotonous groups of cottages with which the English country-side is now lavishly sprinkled, one feels that this of itself is something to be thankful for. On the other hand private enterprise is notably active, and money is quickly forthcoming for good building schemes. Here too Catholics are taking their full share of the work. On the denominational basis previously referred to, we learned that there are Catholic and Protestant, Socialist and neutral building societies, not in antagonism to one another and not catering exclusively for their own adherents. But as far as Catholics are concerned the custom has the undoubted advantage of tending to group them, more or less, in known localities, where the need, in due course, for church and school can be confidently reckoned on and provided for. A Catholic

society will willingly set aside a site for these on easy terms. Thus, in the suburb we visited, where Catholic and Protestant societies had laid out groups of houses side by side, we were shewn a simple but substantial building which serves at present for Holy Mass and later will be turned into the parish hall when a permanent church can be provided.

As for the little houses themselves, real working-class homes of three to six rooms, it is difficult to write without almost foolish rapture. They were so gay and airy, so scrupulously and exquisitely kept. All the houses stood back from the road behind small garden plots, bright with flowers; large windows, with the most immaculate curtains and gaily painted doors and window-frames, were an invariable feature, while open spaces, laid out with shrubs, seats and fountains seemed to occur at frequent intervals. For more well-to-do tenants there were single houses—two living-rooms and a tiny kitchen below and three bed-rooms above—but where a lower rent was essential an ingenious combination had been invented to meet the necessity of giving to every Dutchman a street door of his own. Thus the most usual type of dwelling was a three-storied one with two front doors placed side by side, the one giving access to the ground floor for childless couples or old people, the second opening directly on to the staircase leading to the two upper floors, invariably let together, for larger families. Sometimes, in larger buildings, one noted three or even four doors in a row, for under no circumstances apparently will a Dutch family consent to share its street door with another; there is no true home without a front-door of one's own and one's name upon it. Certainly this up-to-date suburb seemed to promise an exceptionally pleasant place of residence, avoiding on the one hand the expense of single houses and on the other the admitted inconveniences of large blocks of workmen's flats.

Another notable example of Catholic activity in the

building line is to be seen at the splendid tuberculosis sanatorium of Berg-en-Bosch, near Utrecht, planned, built and wholly maintained by the Catholic Trade Unions of Holland. It is an achievement of which they may well be proud. Here, under the ideal conditions supplied by extensive pine woods, some 400 patients, men, women and children, suffering from any form of tubercular disease are nursed back to health and strength. And if on the one side medical science gives of its very best—there is a resident staff of highly qualified doctors, radiographers, etc., and laboratories and operating-rooms with the newest surgical equipment—the needs of the soul have not been neglected, for there is also a large and attractive chapel, a resident chaplain and a community of over 50 Dominican Sisters in charge of the nursing and domestic arrangements. Needless to say Berg-en-Bosch is no hospital in the ordinary sense, but a series of large bungalows with wide, open verandahs where the patients lie out all day in the sunshine among the pine trees and in the winter can be protected by glass screens. To complete their cure men and women remain on as convalescents, often for many months, sleeping in little single huts and working for a carefully regulated number of hours in airy work-shops at light trades, of which the making of attractive wooden toys is at once the most popular and profitable, until they are fit for discharge to normal life once more.

We hear so much nowadays of the need for autocratic leadership and of the breakdown of democratic management that it is encouraging to come across a venture such as Berg-en-Bosch, inspired by the highest motives of wise Christian charity and carried on wholly by a free organisation of working-men for the benefit of their own members, untrammelled by any official control and unassisted by any outside funds. Starting in a very small way after the war in some derelict huts handed over by the State, in an effort to combat a disease which

played havoc in their own ranks, the Catholic Trade Unions have built up, bit by bit, this magnificent institution, and, knowing well what their own families needed, have kept it on simple yet efficient lines.

It stands to reason that such a work could never have been undertaken, on the financial side alone, save by a really strong and live organisation. But next to the German Catholic trade unions, now unhappily suppressed, the Dutch Catholic unions have long been noted on the Continent for their numbers and efficiency and in their own country are second only to the Socialist unions and much larger than the Protestant. They have had—and still have—some notable leaders such as the late Mgr. Nolens, leader of the Catholic Party in the Dutch Chamber and well-known in the international labour world as representing his Government on many occasions at the International Labour Conferences at Geneva. Today the most noteworthy figure is P. J. Serrarens, who has worked his way up in the Catholic labour movement to be a member of the Dutch Senate, a frequent labour delegate to Geneva and General Secretary of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, which, before the enforced dissolution of the German and Austrian unions, numbered, in 1932, well over 2,000,000 members. Today, undoubtedly, it is to Holland that the honour belongs of containing the most strongly organised body of Catholic workers in Europe.

It is obvious that so much practical activity, observable on all sides and inspired by such staunch loyalty to the Church, must be based on a high level of spiritual life among the laity, and it is not surprising to find in Holland that all the usual religious agencies—confraternities, boys' and girls' clubs, retreats and so forth—are in a flourishing condition. But over and above these, Catholic Holland is responsible for two characteristic developments in response to what was felt to be special spiritual needs of the time. The first is the now well-known "Grail"

movement, which has numerous centres of activity throughout the diocese of Haarlem as well as two recent foundations in London. The Ladies of the Grail have the special merit of captivating girls at the end of their school years and of dedicating their youthful enthusiasms to the service of the Church. It is true one hears in Holland occasional disparagement of some of their more spectacular methods, but this is surely the fate of all new and go-ahead organisations.

The St. Reinilda Congregation, conceived originally by a Dutch Jesuit, carries on a more hidden work with less obvious results, and one therefore that requires a yet greater sacrifice of self and a very special spiritual preparation. Described some years ago in the pages of STUDIES (March 1924), the little Congregation has steadily pursued its apostolic labours since then and now has some forty members and four houses, of which that in the Hague is the most important. The fundamental aim is to win the confidence of the children of irreligious parents and ultimately to open their minds to Christian truth. It is often years before this consummation can be reached; in some cases it is never reached at all. Nothing is done without the consent of the parents, and this is often refused. It is work that needs infinite tact and patience, a whole science in the gentle permeation of the child mind. Besides all the usual qualifications of a catechist, the ladies have to acquire the often more difficult art of attracting and holding the children and combining amusement with instruction during the hours they are free to spend at the settlement. All this has to be learned during the two years' novitiate at "Bethany," the mother-house of the Congregation. This is the home of the contemplative members, true religious, who never leave their convent, leading a life of prayer and mortification and devoting themselves to the training of the active catechists. These also wear a white religious habit during their novitiate and on their regular visits

to the Mother-house; but for their active work they dress like other women, and the children who frequent the settlement are quite unconscious that the ladies who teach them to dance and sing are leading dedicated lives. The children are never allowed in to the little chapel where daily Mass is celebrated. On a visit on any Sunday or holiday one finds a number of children happily at play in a small court-yard, older boys eagerly at work with fret-saws and tools in a well-equipped carpenter's shop and little girls practising some new dance. No definite religious instruction is given, but the children from the first are taught the moral virtues of obedience, truth, unselfishness, etc., and this is followed by Bible stories until, after perhaps several years, the children themselves ask for and the parents consent to definite religious teaching with a view to Baptism. In the course of a year an average of 50 children may receive the sacrament; then they are passed on to suitable Catholic schools and organisations, and the St. Reinilda ladies start afresh with little ignorant pagan children. It is a work that can never give startling results, but it appears to us to be typically Dutch in the thoroughness and patience with which it is carried out.

There is no doubt that in Holland, there is a very high all round educational standard. What is satisfactory is that the Catholic minority, thanks in part to the wisely impartial attitude of the Government in educational matters, is in no way cut out from this. It is true that in Holland as elsewhere there is today a good deal of unemployment, but superficially there are no signs of this—no beggars, no poorly-clad children, above all no dirt. The Dutch, no doubt, have their national faults like the rest of us, but to the outsider they appear amazingly hard-working, competent and prosperous, and to these material advantages the Catholic community adds a robust faith, great generosity in its gifts to the Church and a spirituality at once deep and practical.

V. M. Crawford

BERKELEY AND SWIFT AS NATIONAL ECONOMISTS

BY J. M. HONE

IN these days, when economics are all the rage with persons of a speculative turn of mind, a revival of interest in Berkeley's *Querist* need not surprise us. Such a revival is already evident in this country; a new *Querist*, reproducing the title page of the original tract of 1735, has lately been on all our bookstalls.[1] The anonymous writer of this little pamphlet has not only sought to approach the subject of our contemporary economic state in the inquisitive and rationalising spirit of the gentle philosopher of Cloyne, but he has tried his hand at that interrogative form which Berkeley in his later writings, both philosophical and economic, employed with so consummate an art.

More later of the *New Querist!* The main object of this article is to study Berkeley as a national economist by way of contrast to Swift in the same rôle. Others—notably the late Lord Balfour and Lecky—have contrasted Swift and Berkeley as men and as Irish influences. But very little has been written on Swift from the point of view of economic doctrine. There are indeed substantial reasons for supposing that Swift's incursions into questions of trade, currency and banking, had no theoretical root, but were only the pretexts of a political man of letters. Whereas Berkeley's interest in political economy was of a genuinely speculative sort. His tract, written on an Irish text and prompted by the desire to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked" of his land, appearing forty years before the *Wealth of Nations*, anticipated, so it has seemed to many, leading doctrines of Adam Smith

[1] Candle Press: Anonymous 1933-1934

and of Turgot; at the end of the eighteenth century Sir James Macintosh, the Whig philosopher, said of the *Querist* that it "contained more hints, then original, still unapplied in legislation and political economy, than are to be found in any equal space."

Though Berkeley was so many-sided in his activities, it is almost wholly as the author of the *Querist* that he is popularly remembered in Ireland. The three famous pamphlets must have been widely circulated when first they were printed by R. Reilly in Cork Hill in 1735, 1736 and 1737 respectively; for in a letter written ten years later Berkeley complained that no copy could be found in the Dublin bookshops; he wished to present the work to Lord Chesterfield, a friendly Viceroy. The *Querist*, it is true, had not the resounding success of Berkeley's medico-philosophical treatise, *Siris*, which, because it proposed the easy remedy of a little tar mixed with water for all the ills of the flesh, found its way into every gouty Irish country house, even where there was nothing else in the library but a Bible and the Journal of the Irish House of Commons! By the end of the eighteenth century the country gentlemen had forgotten Berkeley; the authorship of Siris is ascribed by Sir Jonah Barrington vaguely to "some Bishop." In the nineteenth century, however, thinkers of the popular party, Davis, Mitchel and Griffith, rediscovered Berkeley as the author of a system the application of which would liberate Ireland from the economic dominion of the neighbouring nation.

Mitchel—while deprecating the "slavish" tone of parts of the *Querist*—those parts which touch on the political relations of Ireland and England—declared that Berkeley had in him the root of a "truly Irish political economy"; he edited a selection of the *Querist* for Young Ireland. The eulogies of Griffith were even more precise. Mr. de Valera does not cite Berkeley, and yet how much of his and his party's economics are an echo from eigh-

teenth century Cloyne. What country, Berkeley asked, was as well qualified as Ireland for satisfying itself with a purely internal trade? In what country should it be easier to nourish and clothe the inhabitants from within and provide all reasonable conveniences, and even comforts of life? Would it not be a sign and effect of a country's thriving to see it divided into "small farms under many" rather than into "large farms under few." In Berkeley's day Ireland had been largely converted into a sheep-run. She could still do a large trade with Yorkshire, and could smuggle textiles to France, although the weavers of the Dublin liberties were denied the right of exporting their finished goods into England or any other country. Berkeley denounced the owners of the sheep-runs much as the graziers of Meath have been denounced in our own day. It should be the wisdom of the State he thought, to "wrestle with the hereditary disposition of the Tartars and introduce tillage with a high hand." Was there any other known nation, possessed of so much good land and so many able hands to work it, which yet was beholden for bread to foreign countries?

To understand the significance of Berkeley as a national economist, it is necessary, however, to consider him in relation to his time, and particularly in relation to the then prevailing influence of Swift. Swift had still several years to live when the *Querist* was published; but his Irish activities were nearing their end. His work had succeeded, as he said, in but one particular, the affair of Wood's halfpence. He had quarrelled with England; he had (after imparting to them a sort of colonial patriotism) quarrelled with the "ascendancy: all that remained to him was the "love of the Irish vulgar" and a deep pity for the destitute masses.

Berkeley's difference from Swift and the Protestant nationalists of the time was that he thought it impolitic to "annoy" England. In exhorting his countrymen to do without imports, he followed Swift but had another

motive. Swift, the party leader, had wanted to unite Irishmen in a common grievance against England, believing that the quickest way to unite a nation was to show them an enemy: the process of antagonism. Burn everything that comes from England except coal! Swift had learned his economics from his patron, Sir William Temple, a doctrinaire of that mercantilist school which Berkeley wished to refute. The first cause of a country's thriving, according to Swift, was a fruitfulness of soil which would be sufficient to produce exportation to other countries as well as to provide the necessaries and conveniences of life at home. In view, therefore, of the opposition of England to Irish export trade, it seemed to him that there was nothing to be done but admit poverty and "reduce our expenses to our income" by renouncing foreign dress and luxury. Berkeley also wanted to renounce foreign dress and luxury, but he would not accept the Dean's gloomy prognosis, and argued that the English restraint on Irish exports was a "blessing in disguise," restraint on exports being the necessary complement of the voluntary protectionism which Swift had proposed. He justly realised that so long as his countrymen regarded the support of native manufactures in the light of mere retaliation or as a means to an end (the recovery of a foreign market), the doctrine of economic self-sufficiency would not receive consideration on its own merits. At the same time it must be conceded that Berkeley was not above calling in prejudice for the support of his doctrine. He supposes that his book will chiefly circulate in the houses of the Protestant landlords, and he chaffs the ladies of these houses on the favour which they show Belgian convents when they prefer foreign laces to good home products!

Berkeley dwells earnestly on the perils of angering a powerful neighbour, thus arousing the disdain of Mitchel and earning the approval of the late Lord Balfour. Swift could only consider the peril with irony: the

Irish interest was due to disoblige England, and he proposed that Ireland should sell her children to England as food, a commerce that would not excite jealousy.

But until the *Querist* appeared, no one had suggested that Ireland should renounce what was left of her export trade—a proposal which must have seemed to Swift (he was still living, but the *Querist* was not in his library) tantamount to advocating a further decline in the standard of living. But the logic was surely on Berkeley's side. How was (and is) gold defended against the charge of being a senseless and useless extravagance ? If money be, as the *Querist* avers, only a ticket or counter, then the only defence of gold is that it maintains our credit abroad, without which our imports must fall off—but this falling off of imports is the very thing that our protectionists desire ! Berkeley was evidently addressing Swift as well as the public in general when he urged that before all, in any economic discussion, it is necessary to form an idea of the nature and use of money.

The promotion of banking was already of great importance in Swift's time, owing to the chronic dearth of silver and gold and even copper from which Ireland suffered. An Act of 1709 first made bankers' notes transferable ; but there were too many failures, as the banks were almost always borrowing short and lending long. In 1720, after one of these failures, a plan was presented to the Irish Parliament and approved by the King to raise a fund of £500,000 for the purpose of lending money to merchants at a fair rate of interest. The project was opposed and defeated by the national party, on the ground that if the bank should touch the trade of England, its Charter would at once be repealed, and the last state of Ireland would be worse than the first. Swift headed the opposition with all his powers as a satirist. He was a Tory, be it remembered, who saw in the growing power of Dutch (Whig) finance a menace to his Church. So he proposed an even better sort of bank for Ireland than

that which was before Parliament: a Swearers' Bank, which would be based on the national consumption of oaths and should pay even higher dividends than the South Sea Company and other like "projections."

This sardonic approach to serious subjects grieved Berkeley, who indeed explained in the preface to his English edition of the *Querist* the difference between his method and that of Swift.[1] Were not the clever satirists, Swift and his imitators, losing sight of the proper end, the improvement of Ireland, and failing therefore to rouse the good will of earnest and active men? The satire exasperated instead of reconciling. Here again spoke the Irish Unionist.

In the original *Querist*, therefore, much space was devoted to demonstrating that a National Bank was neither a dangerous nor an impossible thing. In the sketch set forth by Berkeley this National Bank was to be a source of public credit, supported by the public funds and secured by Parliament. The Bank of England was not Berkeley's model for an Irish National Bank. His Bank of Ireland was to be owned by the State, and the necessary funds for establishing it were to be raised by taxing imported luxuries. In this way too there would be none of the speculation and jobbing of shares, such as in Berkeley's opinion had caused the breakdown of the notorious endeavours of Law, who had treated the printing press as the source of wealth, just as the mercantilist had regarded gold as its source. But throughout the *Querist*, Berkeley is concerned to defend paper currencies and to attack the gold fetish; he cites instances from his own experience of industrious communities in North America which have prospered without possessing any gold whatever, and the chief function of his Irish Bank is the encouragement of circulation by the issue of notes. His definition of money is power to command industry. He denies that the discovery of a gold mine

[1] He does not mention Swift by name

in Ireland would enrich the State. Lord Balfour wrote (Introduction to the Bohn edition): "Nothing can be more explicit than Berkeley's proof that, for currency purposes, notes and gold may perform exactly the same function, yet so great is Berkeley's hatred of the doctrine that money is the source of wealth that, though anxious to increase the amount of the circulation of money, he is unwilling to increase the amount of gold, and seems to hold that though notes can be a substitute for gold, gold cannot be a substitute for notes." I do not see where the inconsistency lies. To understand the true nature of money, it is necessary, Berkeley says, to consider the case of a ship's crew cast upon a desert island; and he asks, "whether a fertile land and the industry of its inhabitants would not prove inexhaustible funds of real wealth, be the tokens for recording and conveying thereof what you will." Gold, however, must obviously be an unsuitable token so long as the metal is coveted for its own sake; in this sense it cannot be a substitute for notes. It is true that the discovery of a gold mine in a country would enable the people of that country to increase their imports; but Berkeley wants to restrict imports, especially such imports as do not promote industry. Gold and silver may be the "bane and undoing" of an idle people; and it is folly to think that, because the quantity of gold and silver is not thereby increased, "inward commerce" cannot enrich a nation.

As to the "slavish" queries, spoken of by Mitchel, it has been suggested that they had their origin in expediency rather than in conviction. Berkeley, before receiving appointment at Cloyne, had been under a cloud of suspicion with the Government; he was taken for a member of the Protestant "Irish interest," and it was only through the active intervention of Queen Caroline, who was partial to philosophers, that he gained his promotion. Throughout the book we find rhetorical queries such as this: "Whose fault is it if poor Ireland continues poor?"

the obvious answer being, "Her own," whereas Swift held that Irish miseries were due to oppression. These are evident instances of Berkeley's desire not to be taken for an agitator of the school of Swift, even if he advocates like Swift support of home manufactures. Berkeley sometimes writes as though Protestant Irish nationalism were a contradiction in terms: "Whether we are not as much Englishmen as the children of old Romans born in Britain were still Romans?" It is partly due to his peace-loving spirit; everywhere prejudice presents obstacles to the schemes of philanthropists, and the Protestants are absurdly divided into parties of the North and of the South as well as into an Irish and an English interest. "Whether anything can be more ridiculous than for the North of Ireland to be jealous of a linen manufacture in the South?" But sometimes Berkeley seems to want "to have it both ways"; for, after disposing of the "ascendancy" as English colonists, he proceeds to regard them and the "old Irish" as one people bound together in one interest.[1] In spite of the allegations of cynicism and of sloth which he brings against the "bulk of the people" (and his criticism of the landlords is equally severe), he is touched by the tragedy of Celtic Ireland . . . . "the roads untrodden, the fields idle, the houses desolate." The liquid light of Erin is in his style; nor was it a cold reformer who asked, "Whether business doth not languish among us? Whether our land is not untilled? Whether its inhabitants are not upon the wing?"—has the Anglican Bishop become

[1] Berkeley, however, did not try to minimise the importance of the "old Irish" after the manner of Swift and Molyneux, the latter of whom even stated that the native population was only one in a thousand! Berkeley says in the *Querist* that no scheme of Irish improvement can prevail, so long as this pretence is kept up. But the object of the pretence is obvious enough. It was not that Swift was hostile to the "old Irish," whom often he praised in private, especially when he compared them with the hungry Scots. But by calling "the descendants of those who reduced this kingdom to subjection" the whole people of Ireland and leaving the bulk of the people out of account, he made English laws against Irish trade seem, from the standpoint of the times, all the more indefensible. In short, it was necessary for propaganda purposes to represent the ascendancy as, at the same time, English in Ireland and an Irish nation; as mere colonists they would have been the natural objects of exploitation by the mother-country.

a Jacobite poet? On the other hand, it is impossible not to suspect a lapse into Swiftian irony when one comes upon such a query as this: "Whether England doth not really love us and wish well to us, as bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh?" If Berkeley really believed it, why did he say later on when his friends urged his claims to succeed Boulter at Armagh, "It is not likely that the Lord Lieutenant will make an Irishman Primate."

Berkeley always liked to drive a thought to its extreme consequence; and the doctrine of the benevolent Unionist of the *Querist*, if it could have been put into effect, would have produced a much more radical separation between English and Irish life than anything proposed by Swift. It is indeed interesting to see how Berkeley, protesting as it were against the practical hardness of Swift's policy, leaps over reality, accepting the philosophical dreams of More and Plato as legitimate possibilities of politics. Following up the Query, "Whether fashion does not create appetites?" he makes regionalism rather than a mere national protectionism the essential feature of his economics for Irishmen. He was ready to reduce his unit from the small nation to the village itself, and he chose to wear poor clothes and a coarse wig made in Cloyne rather than to purchase his needs from a distance. The realisation of his economic hopes depended not only on increased production and industry, but also on an increase in taste and in resource on the part of the consumer who, behind the "wall of brass," would discover values hitherto unrecognised. On this side of Berkeley's doctrine there are evident mediaevalist implications; and yet there is also some warrant for regarding the author of the *Querist* as a forerunner of Benthamite utilitarianism, an apostle of international solidarity based on the free play of the self-interest and initiative of the "economic man." Berkeley castigates the idle rich, and is ready to revive sumptuary laws against luxury; but in the Spartan society which he extols, a "delightful

swarm of busy people," no provision is made for the control of the industrious rich, and it is not wholly pleasing to come upon the Query (Part II. 217) in which the fact (noted in some Dutch workhouses) that a "child four years old may earn its own livelihood" is enthusiastically brought to the reader's attention!

It is possible, however, to find a means of reconciling the "modern" and the "mediaeval" in Berkeley's economics. It is true that he anticipates the liberal economists of the nineteenth century by saying that what is for the good of one people must be for the good of another; but he also adds that each people must find its own good. We can thus argue that he not only anticipated Adam Smith and Ricardo, but that he also foresaw and guarded against that modern crisis of liberal political economy which has been due to a standardised production and a standardised taste. The condition of free trade is that each nation first puts itself into the circumstances of Crusoe! This is the paradox of the Berkelian economics and of the "wall of brass": the longest way round is the shortest way home.[1]

In conclusion, a word is due to our new *Querist* of the Candle Press. He, like Berkeley, is an advocate of inward commerce and of nationalised banking; like Berkeley he believes that Ireland is as well endowed as any other nation with necessaries and good things, with materials for manufacture, and that she has nothing to complain of in her political condition.

Whether instead of waiting for others to remedy our state, we should not set about mending it ourselves?

Whether we do not enjoy a more complete control over our affairs than many other countries?

Whether if we have not assumed that control, the fault is not our own?

[1] There is the same contrast in Berkeley's philosophy. He thought he had discovered a very "new truth"; but at the same time prided himself on having "travelled a long way backwards"—to the discomfiture not only of his contemporary Newton but of Copernicus.

The new *Querist*, it appears, is a "Douglas schemer" who attributes the continuance of unemployment and poverty to the mismanagement of money by the private banks.

Whether the economic system exists to serve our needs, or whether the lives of our people are to be constrained and cramped to fit the system?

Whether money should be the servant of the people, and whether it has not become its master?

Whether money must not be created by someone—whether the State or private persons?

Whether if this is so, the State should not create money and use it to pay wages to the unemployed and set them to work?

Whether it is inflation, if new money is used to create real wealth of an equal or greater amount?

It was also agreed in Berkeley's time that "our coin is on a very bad foot, and needs some remedy." It had been proposed to find a remedy by lowering prices; but Berkeley was in arms against the deflationists.

Whether in case a reduction be thought expedient, the uttering of bank bills at the same time may not prevent the inconveniences of such a reduction?

But whether any public expediency could countervail a real pressure on those who are least able to bear it, tenants and debtors?

There is some warrant for the supposition that Berkeley, were he alive to-day, would be an advocate of currency reform in an inflationary sense and a critic of the banks; but I doubt if his memory can be rightly invoked on behalf of the view that by some monetary device supporting a scheme of public employment poverty can be "banished from the land." The old *Querist* would hardly have written, like the new, "Whether Ireland would not be the easiest country in the world to *make* prosperous" (the italics are mine); or forgotten that if industry is proportioned to the circulation of credit, wealth or prosperity is (in a self-sufficient State) also proportioned to the initiative and industry which "a general good taste in a people" excites. Our new *Querist*

should nevertheless be congratulated on the skill with which he has conveyed something of the atmosphere and spirit of the original document by his use of the interrogative instead of the categorical form. It is only a pity that he has not extended his " imitation " to embrace his choice of words and the balance of his sentences. Berkeley, whose style has been described as perhaps the purest and most serene in English literature, would not have written sentences like these : " Whether there be a hypnotism in the existing order by which it gets itself taken for granted, and an inertia which retards even an examination of its defects ; and whether it (*sic*) does not come to be regarded as being in the nature of things." Expressions from our current journalism of this type—" economic system," " standing on our own feet," " output," " throw cold water," " laissez faire "—were not in Berkeley's vocabulary. J. M. HONE

P.S.—Since this essay was written, its author has read Professor Corkery's article on Swift's recent biographers in the June number of STUDIES. Professor Corkery complains that the biographers have not sufficiently considered the Drapier as the product of his ' ascendancy ' environment. I am still inclined to hold to the view that Swift was not representative of ' ascendancy ' spirit in Ireland. Consider certain passages in his correspondence with the Chevalier Wogan. The English, he says, " should be ashamed of the reproaches they cast on Ireland"—the defects of the natives " arising only from the poverty and slavery they suffer from their inhuman neighbours, and the base corrupt spirits of too many of the chief gentry . . . ."

We never catch Swift writing in this sympathetic strain of the Anglo-Irish, even when he was most active in championing their interests.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXXI

THE BLESSED TRINITY

1. Déana mo ċeaṫorṡ a Ṫríonóid
a Ṫiġearna ar ṫoiġe óil
linṡ ar mo ċeanṡaiḋ a Ṫríonóid
beannuiġ inn ḋoḋ ṁíonḋóiḋ ṁóir.

1*a*. Ṡoiur mo láṁ ċeaṫuirṡ mo ṫroiġeaċ
ċeaṫuirṡ mo ṗorṡ ṗíoġḋa an ṗséal
ċeaṫuirṡ mo ġuṫ ġluair mo ċeanṡaiḋ
ṗṡuṫ im ċluair beannuiġ mo ḃéal.

1*b*. A Ṫríonóid naoṁ ar ḋo naoṁḋoċt
neartuiġ m'ainmne aoḃḋa an [ḋuar]
linṡ agur coḋuil im ċride
a ċinn ḟoḃuil niṁe a-nuar.

1*c*. Aṡ ro [mo] ḃéal [beaṗṫaċ] líoṁṫa
loiṡṡear cáċ [ċuinḋċear] ġaċ ní
aṡ ro an ceanṡaiḋ naċ ceaṗc laḃṗa
beannuiġ a ṡeaṗc m'anma í.

2. Ar ḋo Ṫríonóiḋeaċt a Ṫríonóid
ṫar ḋom leiġear laḃair ṗum
a-ṫá bile [ḋearcaċ] ḋaraċ
ċride peaċtaċ ralaċ ṗunn.

3. Ṡiḋ oic mé níor ṁilleaṁ [ḋaoine]
ní ḋeaṗnaṁ meiṗle a Ṁaic Dé
mo láṁ noċaṁ leaḋaiṁ ḋuine
ṗreaṡair ar ṡráḋ Muire mé.

4. Mára ṗlioċt ṗíre ar a ḃṗuilim
ṡoṫṗaiċteaṁ mé ní móiḋ linn
máṁ ar ḃréiġ a-ṫám a Ṫríonóid
léiġ ar láṁ an ṗíoṁṗóiḋ inn.

5. Ná léiġ an anmainne i nIffeann
i n-onóir Muire a Mhaic Dé
léiġ doo mháċair an boċt bráċar
olc an bráċair máċar mé.

6. Ní cóir cré ná talamh ċorum
acc tonn bráċa beag an feairg
ní cóir ní eile dom falaċ
a Rí acc teine dairiġ deairg.

7. Do dealbair an taobhra a Chríonóid
do talmhain 'r do ċeinid bí
duine do ċeinid 'r do talmhain
fuine deiġfir amlaid í.

8. Uċán uċ giḋ olc ḃar gcreideamh
a ċlann Ádaimh an fuilt ċlaoin
do ċoill laoġ ḃar feaċair faoire
leaċar faor a ḋaoine ḋaoiḃ.

9. Deoċ don uirge d'fior doo mhuinntir
a Mhaic Dé ní dúċraċt linn
ir mór an gráḋ ḋuid air ḋuine
naċ fluiġ an láir uile inn.

10. A-tá colum uiċtġeal álainn
aġainn a-muiġ móide ar nġnaoi
a-tá uan fionn aġ ar ḃfoġnamh
duan liom do lomraḋ ġaċ laoi.

11. A-tá fġiaċ ċoircra ġar ġcoimhéaḋ
[ní] call uaine é ní ḋair
ionmhain liom an fġiaċ naċ fġoiltean
triaċ ġan ċionn ġan foirċeann air.

12. A-tá toirrċear uaral álainn
ir iongantа mar iaḋ brú
éiġne naċ bí earr n-a aḋraḋ
mo ċeann a Rí an talmhan tú.

13. Comarta ort fead gach n-aonfear
d'fine Abrám aobha an fear
aonfiat do bí d'fine Abrán
'n-a bile trí ngablán ngeal.

14. Do dealb Dúileamain do dúilib
do dealb óglaoc ionmain linn
do dealb céarda fgiam do fgiamaib
gruan ir éargna d'fiadain inn.

15. Iodan tángairre ar an dtalmain
mar tig blát tar bruacaib díog
mar tig oigread fe taob tuile
faor do foigneadh duine díod.

16. Óg do bruinneadh ir do bairdeadh
bláit fo gabair cugat corp
óg fo bruinneadh tú i mbroinn Moire
nior coill broinneadh oile ort.

17. Tonn bairdiu ar do bair ngleanngloin
gléagglan foime do forg mall
uirge ar do céib uc fob iongnadh
an fruc réim fo hionnlaid ann.

18. Do bí an t-ór buide ar n-a bruinneadh
i mbroinn Muire maic fo coill
ó tug óg na manac Muire
falac d'ór buide n-a broinn.

19. A gein fo bí tú i mbroinn Muire
a Maic Dé nac dearna olc
a cinn na gloire ir na gloine
nior mill Muire a hóige ort.

20. Do cionn peactac meangac meablac
mór an gábad guin do caoib
ir doilig liom a Meic Muire
do creic do cionn duine daoir.

21. Tugairre aġaiḋ ar lṡeapnn
ḋ'ṡior do ċloinne a ċúl na nóḋ
comṁaġ dá ḃall nioġ ra naċoiġ
an ċlann ċrion 'r an t-aċair óġ.

22. Do bí an oiḋċerin aġ ainġliḃ
aġaiḋ áluinn ṡaḃra ḋuiḃ
náiniġ go rluaġ [naomaċ] nime
uan caorac ġile ar n-a ġoin.

23. [Tugram ḋ'earḃaiḋ] aonmac álainn
ort a Dé do ḋealḃ ġaċ niġ
readа an ċor ir trom an tsilir
corr an ḃor do ḋiġir ḋinn.

24. Aġ reo an ġlacra i ngoin do ġlaice
a [ġein] Dé mar dleaġar díoċ
toll it ḃonn a ḃéal mo ċroiḋe
do ḃéar bonn oile n-a ioc.

25. Ro ba cruaċar toll ġar dteagmonn
do ċaoḃ ġléiġeal do ġlac ṡoirḃ
ġáire ir do ċorp ar n-a ċruaċraḋ
ġan náire a-noċt iarċar oirn.

26. Aġ reo ċuġaċ colann meirliġ
a Maic Muire go mbé ar bail
aġ reo cimiḋ go ġceirḋ [naċar]
[imir t'ṡeirġ ir t-aċar] air.

27. [Seal] beaġ romainn ra nóḋ céadna
a ċor [ċruaġ nar ṫréiġ] do ḃú
a ċor [ro reolċa] ra riġiḋ
eolċa a-nor go diḃir tú.

28. Tréigṡeaḋ uile ṡir an [domain]
ar an Dúileaṁ ro ḋealḃ ġréin
roġearr leam toraḋ an tíre
ṡearr ar ndomhan ṡire ṡéin.

29. An gcreim tárnda díot ní díreac
a Día [gac ní] do-ní ar clú
díod gcreim fir 'r a beit gá bádad
[doo] dreic gil [ó dtádar] tú.

30. A dealb aoinfir a dealb deire
[déine] ordainne breit mbuig
a dealb na dtrí n-aon a haonalt
go dtí taom doo daonnacht duid.

31. Go ndearnar aitrige ir feadbdacht
ir oiliche gid olc mé
go léigear rilead dom fúilid
ag firead ar [n'Úilim de].

Déana.

Translation

1. Do Thou teach me, O Trinity, Lord of my drinking-hall; alight on my tongue, O Trinity; bless me with Thy gentle powerful hand.

1*a*. Direct my hand, guide my feet, enlighten my eye—a task for a lord; instruct my voice, speed my tongue, stir in my ear, bless my mouth.

1*b*. O holy Trinity, I implore Thee by Thy Threeness, make perfect my forgiveness—a noble gift; hasten and rest in my heart, O Lord of the Heavenly host.

1*c*. Behold my mouth so sharp and keen that reviles all men and lays claim to all things; behold this tongue of mine so excessive of speech; sain it, O Love of my soul.

2. I pray Thee by Thy Threeness, O Trinity, come and cure me, speak to me; Thou hast here an oak-stump full of holes (?), a sinful stained heart.

3. Sinful I am, yet have I ruined no man, nor rebelled, O Son of God; my hand has wounded no one; hear me for Mary's love.

4. If I come of the true stock (of the Faith)—I make no boast of this—let me be cleansed; if I am in the way of falsehood put me on the true path.

5. For Mary's sake, O Son of God, let not my soul go down to Hell; let Thy Mother have this poor creature of a friar; unworthy kinsman of my mother am I.

6. Not clay or earth should cover me, but—too gentle, O King, Thy wrath!—a wave of doom, a red fire of wood; this should overwhelm me.

7. O Trinity, Thou hast made me; of earth and fire art Thou (O Christ); thus a man (like me) of earth and fire is the fashioning of a good man.

8. O sons of wavy-tressed Adam who didst pierce the Son of your noble Kinswoman, the Creator reaches to you (?); Alas, only weakly do you believe this.

9. O Son of God, I am not eager to give even a drink of water to any of Thy folk; 'tis of Thy great love for man that the earth has not swallowed us all.

10. A fair white-breasted Dove is ours on earth (?), inflaming our love, a white Lamb set on saving us; daily Thy shearing is as a song in my ear.

11. We have a purple shield to guard us, one not of hazel or oak; I love that shield unpierceable, the Lord without beginning or end.

12. We have the beauteous noble Child—wondrous how a womb enfolded Him!—the Salmon for ever adorable; O Lord of the World, Thou art my King.

13. A symbol of Thee beyond all of fair Abraham's race was the single rod of Aaron's son, a stock with three fair branches.

14. The Creator fashioned from elements Thy body (O Christ), a Hero beloved of us; Thou dost appear, even when tortured, as beauty of all beauty (?); sun and moon testified to this.

15. Pure camest Thou on earth as the flower comes on the stream-bank, or as the ice comes on the water; Thou Creator, becamest man.

16. Virginal was Thy bearing in a womb and Thy baptism ; nobly didst Thou take a body ; pure wert Thou conceived in Mary's womb ; no other conception befitted Thee.
17. The baptismal wave falling on Thy dimpled hand, the water's pure stream falling on Thy locks was—how wondrous !—itself purified ; for Thou, O noble-eyed Lord, wert all-pure before.
18. The bright gold was borne in Mary's womb—well it befitted her !—when Mary, virgin of all monks hid that bright gold in her bosom.
19. O Son Thou didst lie in Mary's womb, O Son of God all guiltless ; in bearing Thee, O Lord of glory and brightness, Mary lost not her virginity.
20. For treacherous guileful sinners great was the need that Thy side be pierced ; yet I grieve, O Son of Mary, that Thou shouldst be sold to redeem reprobate man.
21. Thou didst go down to Hell to visit Thy children, O wavy-tressed Lord ; (then there was) a meeting in the Palace (of Heaven) of the two Royal Persons, the Son ever ancient and the Father ever young.
22. That night He of the fair dark-browed face was with the Angels ; the Lamb of the fair mother after His wounding comes to the Heavenly host of saints.
23. On Thee, O Lord, Who didst create all Lords, we inflicted the loss of Thy fair only-begotten Son ; slender of foot, heavy of tresses, soft of hand is He whom Thou demandest back from us.
24. Behold my hand offered, as 'tis right, for Thy wounded hand ; for the hole in Thy foot, O Thou whose face I love, I will offer my foot in requital.
25. To save us, Thy white body and generous hand were as a pierced sieve ; yet, though Thy body was pierced, folk expect me now to indulge in joy unashamed.
26. O Son of Mary, I give up to Thee my body—a traitor's body !—so that it be saved ; behold it, treacherous as a serpent, in Thy power ; wreak Thy vengeance and Thy Father's vengeance on it.
27. O sore foot which never abandoned Thy flock, O foot which had gone forward on the road (?), do thou lead us aright another little space along the same road.
28. I will abandon the world and flee to the Creator, Maker of the sun ; short-lived the pleasures of that land ; I prefer my own true home (Heaven).
29. O God, Who doest all things for Thy glory, Thou must not loosen Thy saving hold (on me) ; may a drowning man's hold, by which Thou mayst be held fast, be laid on Thee, O fair-faced Lord.
30. O Thou Who art One and Two give us a light judgment ; O Thou Who art Three in one, let a prompting of Thy Humanity move Three.
31. May I, sinful man, practise penance and austerity and pilgrimage ; let me pour tears from my eyes supplicating my Creator thereby.

Notes

MSS : D ii 1 f. 123*a* ; 23 L 34 p. 159 (giving only vv. 1-10)

1 *b* n-óil. 1 *a* troiġeaḋ. 1 *b* ᵭuain. 1 *c* an ; uncertain. *b* coinnġeap. 2 *b* ꝑuum. *c* ᵭeṙcnaċ. *d* cṁaiᵭi. 3 *a* milleuṙ ᵭaenna. 4 *a* maṙṙa ; builim. *b* ꝑaṫꝑaiċt— *d* ꝑíꝑóit. 5 *a* in nanmainṫea. *c* máṫaꝑ. *d* maṫaiꝑ. 7 *b* iꝑ ; *c* iꝑ. *d* hí. 8 *c* l. ꝑoꝛ ꝑ. *d* ᵭib. 10 *c* i ġaꝛ ꝓoġnum. *d* lium. 11 *b* in. *d* ċenn cen ꝑ. ꝑaiꝑ. 12 *b* inġantu. 13 *a* ꝛaeaċ. 14 *a* ᵭúileman. *c* *Leg* ꝛġiaṁuiġ, " beauty was added to Thy beauty when tortured ? " 15 *a* ᵭancairriu aꝛ t. *c* ᵭoꝛuġneᵭ. 16 *a* bꝛuineaᵭ iꝑ ᵭo b. *c* bꝛuineaᵭ. *d* eli. 17 *a* baiꝛteᵭa ; nglenġloin. *b* ġleġan ꝓomi ᵭo. *c* uċt aꝛ ᵭo. 19 *a* a ġen. 20 *c* lium a maic. *d* ᵭuini ᵭaiꝛ. 21 *a* tucairriu aᵭaiġ aꝛ iꝑꝑeꝛnᵭ. *b* ᵭiꝑ ᵭa cl. *d* ꝛa taṫaiꝛ oġ. 22 *b* aiᵭiġ. *c* naemᵭa. 23 *a* tucꝛat eꝛbaiᵭ. *c* ꝛéᵭa in caꝛꝛ. *d* in baꝛꝛ. 24 *b* maic. *d* eli na hícc. 25 *a* cṁiṫaꝛ. 26 *a* meꝛliᵭ. *c* naṫꝛaċ ; but naṫaꝛ (g. pl.) is doubtful form. *d* imiꝛriu tṡeiꝛġ aṫaċ ꝓaiꝛ. 27 text and trans. doubtful. *a* ꝛeól bic. *b* tꝛuaġꝛa tṡeiꝛġ. *c* ꝓom ꝛeóla. *d* eólca anoiꝛ ꝩo tibiꝛ ċu. 28 *a* beṫa. *b* aꝛ in ᵭ. 29 *a* taꝛꝛṫa ; ᵭíꝛleoċ. *b* in mí. *c* ꝑiꝛ iꝛ ḃeiṫ. *d* ᵭo ; ó *d* ṫaꝛṫa. 30 *b* beiꝛꝛi. *d* ᵭaenaṫ ᵭuic. 31 *b* oilicꝑi. *c* ꝑiliuᵭ. *d* ꝛíꝑiuᵭ ; ᵭúilib noe.

THE OTHER HIDDEN IRELAND

BY AODH DE BLACAM

PROFESSOR DANIEL CORKERY'S book, *The Hidden Ireland*, has kept Irish literary and historical criticism in a ferment ever since its appearance nine years ago. It challenged that version of late Irish history which was set forth by Lecky and followed by almost all later writers, at home and abroad. In effect, it said: Lecky described only the shell of Ireland; he ignored the real national life and culture; from him the real Ireland was hidden; he saw only the Ascendancy. Prof. Corkery drew a majestic picture of the secret Ireland of the Gael. His art convinced readers for whom the actual historical *data* long had been available in duller books. However, he did not tell the whole story of the Gaelic side of Irish history, neglected by Lecky and others who wrote before the revival of Gaelic studies. He dealt only with Munster, and Northern Gaels have resented his slighting treatment of Gaelic themes outside Munster.[1] He shewed as little sympathy for the Anglo-Irish as Lecky shewed for the Gael. If Lecky was partial, so was he. To dismiss Anglo-Ireland as unworthy of a Gael's study, however, is hurtful to Gaelic interests, seeing that a large part of Gaelic and Catholic thought was expressed, during two centuries, in English. The task of the just historian is to depict Irish history with the Gaeltacht as the core, but also to dissect the anglicised sphere, recovering whatsoever belongs to the nation and discarding only what is alien through and through.

Justly to understand Anglo-Irish history, we must make a bold departure from accepted opinion. We may find that there is a "hidden" Anglo-Ireland as well

[1] "The book has one very serious fault—the treatment of the Ulster poets. Corkery's criticism of Lecky might well be applied to his own work on the subject" —Rev. L. Murray in Introduction to *Amhráin Sheumais Mhic Chuarta* (1925).

as a "hidden" Gaeldom. After all, there is a "hidden" England. To this day, Catholic writers in England are busy with the task first undertaken by Dr. Lingard and his disciple Cobbett—the refutation of the accepted false picture of the English past.[1] Nothing is more common than a version of history distorted by a late point-of-view. The late Sir James O'Connor, in books which subvert the whole tradition of Irish nationalism,[2] shewed how a Catholic could construct a plausible theory of history which well might come to be accepted if the living tradition should be broken. In the Scottish province of the Gaelic world we see how native writers can impose a false version; even proud Scottish authors like Sir Walter Scott and R. L. Stevenson have depicted the Gaels as mere "noble savages." Only very late writers[3] have shewn that the savage clan warfare, so often represented as typical of Highland life, rose from the decadence of a formerly well-ordered society. How Scottish writers have misrepresented their country's religious history is well-known. A Scottish author of some mark recently described St. Columcille in Iona as teaching "the grand system of Calvinistic theology"! Very late writers[4] have raised a protest against historical fallacies which are almost universally accepted even by patriotic Scots.

We need not marvel, then, if we should find in being an accepted Anglo-Irish version of Anglo-Irish history which is open to challenge. Nay, but it has appeared this very year in that *History of the Church of Ireland*, which is put forward, apparently, as an official account of itself by the Irish Protestant Church. The historical errors in this work have been discussed by the Rev.

[1] "The far greater part of those books which are called *Histories of England* are little better than romances. They treat of battles, negociations, intrigues of court . . . .; they contain the gossip and scandal of former times, and very little else."—Cobbett, *The Protestant Reformation*.

[2] *History of Ireland*, 1798-1924 (1925). *Ireland* (1926).

[3] Audrey Cunningham, *The Loyal Clans* (1932). Canon R. C. Macleod of Macleod, *The Island Clans* (1932).

[4] Rev. J. McNaught, *The Celtic Church and the See of Peter* (1927). M. V. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* (1927).

John Ryan, S.J., in STUDIES, and (from a Protestant standpoint) by a writer in the *Times Literary Supplement*; but we hardly need to dwell on errors of fact to presume a mistaken bias when we find that the editor of this history of a body claiming descent from St. Patrick is ignorant of the Irish language, and that his authors, who deal with the "Celtic" period, are equally ignorant of what surely is a main part of their subject. Conceive a book on French history written by a man who knew no French, and so was ignorant of all French literature in the original and the accent of French life; nay, but conceive such an author controverting French tradition and yet posing, despite his bad qualifications, as the true inner interpreter of French history!

Grant, then, that Anglo-Irish history is written by those who stress the "Anglo"; mark that this school of opinion has been in charge of Anglo-Irish records for an age and that almost all independent opinion has died out through obvious causes. Is there another plausible reading of Anglo-Irish history? Are there facts which emphatically anglicised writers would be likely to obscure as Protestant writers have obscured certain facts in the English past and as Whig writers have obscured facts in the Scottish past? We think so. The anglicising party in Irish Protestantism has prevailed, because the Protestant Church was a State church and because the State was set on the extinction of all things Gaelic. However, official policy and historical conditions often are at variance, and so it was (as this essay contends) in Anglo-Ireland. Let the case be summarised in propositions.

(1.) Both Gaelic writers, like Dr. Corkery, and Anglo-Irish writers often err by surveying only a section of the true historical field. The identification of Gael with Catholic is plausible in a study of Jacobite Munster, but it collapses at once if we survey the whole Gaelic field from Kerry to the Hebrides. The schism of the sixteenth

century cut geographically across the Gaelic world. Scotland and that part of Ulster which was infiltrated, not planted, became Protestant even before the plantation of Ulster. On the other hand, a big non-Gaelic population in Leinster remained Catholic. Hence, we find Gaelic Protestants and non-Gaelic Catholics at the very outset of the period.

(2.) Three big Plantations followed, which affected the racial map of Ireland in all the provinces. It is a fact that English planters were assimilated in three provinces. Those planters who were not assimilated were the Ulster planters, who were mainly Scottish (*i.e.* Gaelic) by blood. The last Plantation, that after the Williamite war, was that which produced the phenomenon of Ascendancy.

(3.) There was much more intermarriage between the races and creeds formerly than in recent times. This we may see by the absorption of Cromwellian settlers, the anxiety of Protestant writers, the tales of abductions, also by Anglo-Irish pedigrees, few of which, save in the landlord class, fail to shew repeated crossing with the old race during the century before Emancipation, and even after. The recovery of Catholic discipline after Emancipation was the main check on mixed marriage, now almost extinct, to the great benefit of religion and domestic peace.

(4.) Not merely was the black and white cleavage between Gall and Gael less distinct in former days as to blood, but community of occupation brought the two together more than now. Old-fashioned rural life made parishes self-contained. In field and fair, the Protestant minority (even if pure English as to blood) could not but pick up the language of the majority.[1]

(5.) The general knowledge of Irish by Protestants throughout rural districts, which resulted from these

[1] The small-holding districts of the Ulster border and the Donegal Gaeltacht shew to this day a community of occupation and of speech.

factors, can be demonstrated. We might take the poets Comyn in Clare and Fitzgerald in Waterford county, so well described by Dr. Corkery, as examples of Protestants who were indistinguishable from their Catholic neighbours in Gaelic culture in the Penal days. Farther back, the dispute among Protestant prelates in the seventeenth century as to whether services should be conducted in Irish[1] shews how considerable was the use of Irish among the Protestants of the seventeenth century. Bishop Bedell wanted Irish-speaking clergy and Irish prayers for existing congregations, whereas the anglicising party (which prevailed) wished to spread the English language. The tone of the difference shews that Bedell's desire was not simply for Irish as a proselytising agency. Already, moreover, a Protestant version in Irish of the New Testament had been made by Bishop Daniel (Uilleam O Domhnaill), and we have the testimony of Stanihurst that, in Elizabeth's day, Irish was " gaggled " throughout the Pale. Down to the proselytising movement of the nineteenth century there was a certain slender thread of Protestant Gaelic activity, as when sermons by Tillotson and other Protestant divines were translated, in despite of the official policy of anglicisation. When John Wesley brought Methodism to Ireland, his followers soon found the need for preachers in Irish if they were to reach the Protestant common people, neglected by their prelates in Ireland as in England ; Gaelic preachers were appointed and it is recorded how one of these addressed troops in Bandon in 1798 in Gaelic after failing to make himself understood in English—they were Scots. As for the Presbyterians, they were largely Gaelic-speaking when they came from Scotland, and they remained so till a late date. Everyone knows the tale of how their Dr. Neilson (author of an Irish grammar published in 1806) was arrested in 1798, after preaching in Irish in County Down, on suspicion of treason. A predecessor of John

[1] Dr. Douglas Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland* gives typical *dicta*.

Mitchel's father in Newry was a Gaelic speaker from Scotland; he used to go down into County Louth to preach to a Gaelic-speaking congregation near Dundalk. Until seventy years ago a course of Irish was part of the training of Presbyterian clergy. When Cardinal Logue was a young curate in Ballybofey, he was the cordial friend of the Rev. Mr. Steele, a Presbyterian clergyman who preached on alternate Sundays in Irish.

These notes shew that there certainly is a *stratum* in Anglo-Irish history when the Protestant people were largely Gaelic-speaking, and in some places predominantly so; that they were interpenetrated with Gaelic influences and largely by Gaelic blood. Some might claim that Irish Protestants, by rights, are as un-English as the Scots. Suffice it here to make the modest claim that their history never can be written justly until the Gaelic *stratum* has been explored, instead of ignored. Obviously, it must have left a great mark on the Anglo-Irish mind. To some of us an intangible kind of evidence is strong: I mean the rhythm of natural speech. No Englishman can write a ballad in the "Irish mode,"[1] but it is a matter of common experience that Irish Protestants have the very accent in their popular verse.[2] Gaelic ancestry is manifest here to such a critic as McDonagh. A scrutiny of popular Anglo-Irish writings, as distinct from works that bear the classical discipline of the University of Dublin, would be fruitful. What would we not give to recover those ballads which Goldsmith wrote in student days, indulging a racy genius that he restrained in his formal literary work! Traces of the Gaelic *stratum* in Irish Protestantism are found, not merely in the Anglo-Irish accent, however, but in Gaelic letters. One of the errors in modern criticism is to assume that everything found in Irish is *ipso facto* a Catholic production, an expression of the true Irish spirit, as if everything in

[1] Thomas McDonagh, *Literature in Ireland.*

[2] Witness such extravagances as "The Night before Larry was Stretched," and some Orange ballads even.

good English from Milton to Mitchel should be regarded as the voice of England. In truth, Gaelic literature, although overwhelmingly Catholic, does contain some works of a diverse mind. A remarkable example came recently to light in the classical Gaelic lamentation of Parson Patrick Dunkin (O Dongáin) when the Puritans drove him into exile in the Isle of Man.[1]

Alas for my journey from my fatherland, driven forth by those who hate baptism, cross and church (*ceall*); those who have deserted Patrick's teaching and have a faith without a rudder, the Roundheads, those by whom my own folk fell. My heart is broken in my bosom; help me, O God! Were Feargus or Cúchulainn living, or the son of Brian; if the great MacDonnells or O Neills were here, I would be righted soon, etc.

Then there are poems, common in manuscript but not yet printed, in which Catholic ceremonies are burlesqued in no mere "learner's Irish." Familiar are some proverbial sayings and verses, which perplex us in the books until we assume a Protestant authorship.[2] Dr. Thomas O'Rahilly gives a well-known Gaelic verse[3] which says: "By education still are fools misled; the priest continues what the nurse began" a typical piece of Protestantism, surely! The present writer came on a copy of the verse, with its English version, in a book that had been used by a proselytising clergyman over a hundred years ago. We might cite also a certain scurrilous Gaelic name for James II, still in use among Northern Protestants and sometimes used by Catholics in the foolish assumption that, because it is Gaelic, it is expressive of their ancestors' sentiments towards the Stuarts! Such things as these may be taken as *debris* of the lost Irish-speaking Protestant *stratum*. In the nature of things, distinctively Protestant products are polemical, but Protestants may be authors of many things to which there is no Catholic objection.

[1] "*Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*, Ed. Henry Morris (1934).

[2] Cf. the proverb *Sé a leanbh féin a bhaisteas an sagart ar dtús* (Morris, *Sean-Fhocla Uladh*, No. 65a), which is not explained so satisfactorily by the assumption that it "may have come down from the time ere celibacy was strictly enjoined among the clergy."

[3] *Burdúin Bheaga*, No. 11.

Officially, as we have noted, Irish Protestantism was always anti-Gaelic; but that does not imply that it always was deliberately anti-patriotic. After all, the vital importance of a national language is a recent discovery; great Catholic figures like Archbishop Healy and Daniel O'Connell shewed themselves indifferent to the passing of living Gaelic.[1] Hence, when eminent Protestants favoured the English language, which was to identify their people ultimately with England, they did not foresee this consequence. Archbishop Ussher opposed Bedell's Gaelic aims, yet he himself, descendant of a Norman-Irish family and son of a Catholic mother, was proud of Ireland. He wrote in robust style of "my countrymen" when expounding his mistaken notions of old Irish resistance to Rome; he was a patron of Irish historical studies and author of works, highly considerable for their age, on Irish antiquity. In opposition to the out-and-out English party, he fought for, and secured, an independent constitution for the Irish Protestant Church. He undoubtedly desired an Irish establishment which should continue the fabric of the pre-Reformation Church in Ireland; or, if another way of putting it be preferred, he sought to graft the Protestant Church on the old Ireland. Ussher and Sir James Ware, that greater historical scholar, were the formulators of the Protestant Church of Ireland's claims and the fathers of whatever there has been of a separate Protestant nationalism.[2] They had a certain national vision, not the same as that of the Catholic body, but a Protestant version of it. The verses of Parson Dunkin, quoted above, shew how a personal friend of Ussher, within the Gaeltacht, could glory in a version of the past that excluded the Pope and the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. These men

[1] Milton, who was quite a "jingo" in his English patriotism, doubted whether the English language would live, and almost preferred Latin.

[2] When Dr. Corkery approves of the saying that "St. Patrick and St. Columba presently became saints in the Irish Protestant Calendar"—a statement by Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone in their work on Swift—he and the authors are a hundred years out!

did not design to make a complete breach with the past although that actually was what followed, as it followed wherever the fatal step of Protestantism was taken. Perhaps, if the mass of the country had gone with them, as in England and Scotland and the Protestant lands of the Continent, they would have been seen as strong nationalists, like Protestant prelates elsewhere. As it was, they found themselves unable to carry with them more than a little minority, chiefly of persons attached to foreign interests, and so their would-be national Irish Church became a glaring anomaly. Ussher himself, after a lifetime of vehement controversial endeavour, seems to have been converted by his own failure, if we may believe the highly circumstantial statements of the Capuchin historians, Fathers Barnabas O Ferrall and Daniel O'Connell,[1] recently published. These writers state that the " pseudo-Archbishop " (as they call him), disappointed and in exile, consulted books which the Capuchin Fathers furnished, and twice, *ut alter Nicodemus*, visited a Catholic adviser ; was convinced of the Catholic claims, but procrastinated in submission until he was *in articulo mortis*.[2]

Ussher's career shews how a Protestant churchman, while labouring to subvert Catholicism, could seek to maintain an independent Irish establishment. We might turn to a layman, in a bitterly contested part of the North, to see how powerful the native culture remained even at the end of the seventeenth century. Among the English " undertakers " in North Armagh were two Brownlows, who received 2,500 acres, seized from the O'Neills, in the neighbourhood of Lurgan. Two generations later, we find Arthur Brownlow (ancestor of the Earls of Lurgan) a patron of Gaelic letters, able to write

[1] *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* Vol. I. Pars. III §91. (Published in 1932).

[2] Would it be surprising if a similar revelation should be made some day concerning the death of Bishop Bedell, whom the Catholic Bishop allowed to be buried in the Cathedral precincts and over whose body a priest is said to have cried, *O sit anima mea cum Bedello* !—as well might be said after an edifying conversion ?

a colophon in Irish in a manuscript which he possessed between 1689 and 1707—he signs himself Artúir Brounló in good Gaelic characters.[1] The manuscript is mainly a *duanaire* in good bardic verse which was put together, only a few years earlier, for the head of the family of O'Neill of Clannaboye, a Protestant. From Brownlow, it passed to Lord Moira, who possessed it as late as 1765, when he lent it to O'Conor of Belanagare; it reached Bishop Reeves later, and now lies in the Royal Irish Academy. Here we see a grand work of Gaelic learning, the last of all bardic productions, compiled for a Protestant and preserved by a Gaelic-writing Planter, who cherished the records of the race whose lands he occupied. Let it be added that Brownlow was patron of Peadar O Doirnín,[2] perhaps the greatest of the Ulster poets of the Penal time, and son of a Protestant but Irish-speaking mother. True, there were not many Brownlows to encourage Gaelic studies in that melancholy age; but neither were there many O'Conors. Even one, when we take into account the Protestant O'Neills from whom he received that precious last record of the Ulster princes, and the hands through which it later passed, shews how high the Gaelic tide still was running in even the Plantation areas. We may make bold, perhaps, to claim that Anglo-Ireland could have become completely Gaelic as it became completely English if, from 1700 to 1750, the balance had not been turned by certain factors.

One factor was emigration. It might be objected to the theory of a big Protestant Gaelic *stratum* that it left disproportionately small traces; but this takes a different aspect when we read of the enormous emigration of Protestants throughout the eighteenth century. "For nearly three-quarters of a century," writes Lecky,[3] "the drain of the energetic Protestant population continued, and

[1] *Leabhar Clainne Aodha Buidhe.* Edited by T. O Donnchadha (1931).

[2] According to O'Daly's biography of O Doirnín in *Poets and Poetry of Munster.* O'Daly mistakenly believed that O Doirnín, although a writer of Ulster Irish, was a Munsterman by birth.

[3] *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,* Vol I. Chap. II.

their places, when occupied at all, were occupied by a Catholic cottier population. . . . The famine of 1740 and 1741 gave an immense impulse to the movement, and it is said that for several years the Protestant emigrants from Ulster annually amounted to about 12,000. . . . . They went with hearts burning with indignation, and in the War of Independence they were almost to a man on the side of the insurgents." In a word, the typical Protestant common folk emigrated in such vast numbers as to change the complexion of Anglo-Irish life.

The second factor was the official policy of the Protestant Church and the University of Dublin, its adjunct. As we have seen, the very men who most wished to create a national Church used that institution to discourage the use of the national language. As for the University, it was founded expressly for the propagation of the English culture in Ireland; and if we do find one of its earliest professors an O Huiginn,[1] a scion of a bardic house, he was engaged because he would be useful in the work of anglicisation. In the seventeenth century, the University, like Ussher himself, was not unfriendly to Irish historical studies. In the eighteenth, however, its distinctive bent was settled unmistakably for anglicisation and classicism. Swift and Berkeley were both the greatest and the most typical of the *alumni* of Trinity College, Dublin. Nay, but their genius became its very *genius loci*. From them Trinity learnt to pride itself on a "hard intellectual light." Their philosophy may be traced in all the most characteristic sons of Trinity since their day—Swift's scepticism, Berkeley's subjectivism, the classical detachment from the living nation which we see in both. Trained in Trinity, the leaders of the Irish Protestant Church almost all have borne the mark that Swift left on the Anglo-Irish spirit. An Ussher might be a "fundamentalist" Protestant, with a bias towards rigorism; but, since Swift, Irish Protestant

[1] Cf. *The Poems of Tadhg Dall O Huiginn*, Introduction by Miss E. Knott.

leadership has been virtually Modernist. A religion thus detached from traditionalism could not but tell against the racy old Gaelic culture. The creator of Gulliver, who saw the world as a cruel phantasmagoria, could not love the things to which the Gael was loyal; the author of a subjectivist philosophy could not encourage the blunt Gaelic realism. Their disciples were alien to the Gaelic spirit. Hence educated Protestantism tended steadily to the detachment of its people from the old life.

It was among the common folk, so largely swept away by emigration, that the strain of Gaelic tradition lingered faintly, and racy Irish sympathies persisted. When a patriotic movement appeared in Protestant Ulster, in revolt against the Ascendancy, it was natural that Gaelic ideas should reappear. So we find the United Irishmen of Belfast publishing a Gaelic magazine in 1795; and the Corkman, Thomas Russell, on becoming librarian there, takes up Irish studies together with other Protestant patriots.[1] In the house of the Protestant Dr. James MacDonnell, in what now is Belfast's main thoroughfare, Gaelic poets, harpers and scribes meet with the comrades of Wolfe Tone, among them Whitley Stokes, who financed an Irish dictionary and was forbear of a grand family of Gaelic scholars; and the doctor himself is lamented in a Gaelic elegy in 1845. The Gaelic tradition, in fact, pouring in from the Glens, nearly captured Protestant Belfast, with a Scottish tinge; it was the political *débâcle* that prevented the uprise of a Protestant Ulster Gaelicism, corresponding to the Gaelicism of the Highlands. We observe, among the United Irishmen of the North, a strong sense that the Irish language is as much theirs as any other part of the Irish heritage, and their remarkable devotion to it, and to traditional music, refutes the now popular theory that they were merely subversive revolutionaries under French influence. Indeed, the notion

[1] *Gaelic Literature Surveyed*, Appendix.

that it belongs only to the Catholics never appears save under the anti-Gaelic aegis of Trinity.[1] To the persistence of a quiet affection for the old language we may trace the place in Anglo-Irish speech of what Dr. Corkery calls "'green' things that never had any existence at all in the imagination of the Gael"—the Shamrock, the Harp, the Round Tower, the Shillelagh and sundry other emblems that he enumerates. The truth is that these "green" emblems moved Catholics at least as much as Protestants. The Shillelagh ("whatever that may be," as Dr. Corkery says) may have been made a bugbear by the stage-Irish curiosity shops, but it certainly is not a bastard creation of the Protestant mind; for we find it in a grand old Penal ballad, "Bold Phelim Brady":—

> At pattern or fair I could twist my shillela
> And trip through a jig with my brogues bound with straw.[2]

The other "green" things, if taken *seriatim*, could be shewn to have had an authentic place in that phase of our culture when the people were English-speaking with recent Gaelic memories. They have been cheapened, made ugly by separation from context and by hackneyed use; but they had their place once as faithful emanations from the Gaelic into English. When the United Irishmen made *Erin go bragh* their password, their spelling might be bad, but they were using the correct Irish of the North, with the dative *Eirinn* as nominative: foolish would we be to dismiss the phrase for which men died as "green."

The obscured *stratum* of Protestant Gaelicism deserves to be explored for another reason. It is a known truth that off-shoots of nations often preserve old traits more

[1] As recently as the youth of the present writer's father, Protestants in Newry (an industrial Ulster town where complete anglicisation might be expected) talked Irish to the incoming country folk on market days, and many were proud of whatever Gaelic they knew—few seem to have regarded it as "not theirs."

[2] The word Shillelagh, so spelt from the influence of the place-name, may be the pure Gaelic *síleála*, "trouble" (*cf.* Dineen's *Dictionary*), used in droll manner, as when we call a boxer's fist *Bás gan sagart*.

exactly than the living stem.[1] Old customs often are fossilised in the foreign body. So we find the Protestant Church, in its "rural deaneries," preserving the memory of small episcopal sees which were absorbed by bigger sees long before the Reformation. Many traits of the Anglo-Irish tradition, therefore, may give us glimpses of old times. An unhistorical attitude towards "green" things leads Dr. Corkery to the astonishing statement that St. Patrick "was never a national piety among the Irish." What!—did Dr. Corkery never read the story of St. Patrick's fight-to-be for the men of Ireland on the Judgment Day, when he will insist on being their judge? The fable, though droll, expresses a national idea of the Saint which can be traced back to the eleventh or twelfth century before ever the Anglo-Irish were imagined.[2] What other nation has two great pilgrimages to sites connected with its patron, ascribes peculiar rights to him on the Last Day, and puts him in the very centre of its creative literature as when the whole Fenian saga is supposed to be narrated to St. Patrick? If the Anglo-Irish give a tremendous prominence to St. Patrick, it is because they found it already existent; they accepted it, like the climate. If they have made much of the wearing of the shamrock, they do but confirm the existence of that observance in the old nation. The stress which they have laid upon the harp is perfectly historical; the harp held pride of place in our culture down to the mid-Penal days, but economic causes obliged the poorer classes, then Catholic, to transfer favour to the formerly-despised pipes; thus, the harp became the preserve of the more prosperous, the Anglo-Irish, who preserved its tradition for us, if we do not despise our own past. We find in the Anglo-Irish, and in the Scots Gaels, parts

[1] Cf. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (1934), in which such examples are given as the purity of the French culture in Canada under alien sovereignty and of the Castilian preserved by Jews in the Near-East. Cf. Elizabethan English in modern Ireland.

[2] Rev. Paul Grosjean, S.J. in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, III, 1.

of the old fabric of life throughout Gaeldom, disguised sometimes or perverted, but necessary to be studied when we try to reconstruct times before the convulsion.

The upshot of all this is that to identify *Catholic* with *Gael*, as it is bad religion, so it is bad history. It is a sort of Irish Nazi-ism. The Catholic body in Ireland always, since the first invasion, has included non-Gaels in high places ; St. Patrick himself was no Gael ; Catholicism and racialism are mutually destructive. On the other hand, whereas the Gaelic world once was a unit in blood, speech, tradition, faith, from the South of Ireland to the North of Scotland, a big part fell away from the Faith, and the character of its members was transformed. Religion, as we know, transforms the type where the blood is identical ; in contiguous Scottish parishes you may see Calvinistic dourness contrasting abruptly with the Catholic way of life, as if different nations met there. The anglicisation of leaders was the agent by which the division was brought about, as when clans followed their chiefs in Scotland into Presbyterianism, and the anglicisation of the Irish Protestant Church buttressed it against pervasive Catholicism.

Let us sum up the suggestions which rise from these somewhat discursive inquiries into an obscure subject.

The true field of inquiry in Gaelic history is the original Gaeltacht, *viz.* all Ireland and most of Scotland. As the Scottish Highlands and some infiltrated areas in Ulster " went Protestant," it is unhistorical to identify *Gael* and *Catholic*.[1]

The Gaelic culture, acting on people even of English origin among Planters—but a big part of the planters was of Protestant Gaelic stock—was strong enough to pervade Anglo-Irish life very largely, even in the Penal

[1] In the *Newry Reporter*, August 14, 1934, we find a list of Protestant vestrymen appended to an Address ; 8 out of the 12 names are Gaelic. The same paper gives the names of the 6 officers of the Newry Royal Black Chapter. All six are Gaelic. Only 2 of the 14 Gaelic names are Scots. This is a piece of evidence taken at random, out of hundreds of such proofs that the Ulster Protestants are mainly Gaelic.

age. A big part of the Protestant population at one time was Irish-speaking; emigration and the loss of records have obscured the truth. Among Irish Protestants there were patrons of Irish letters like Brownlow and enthusiasts like the Belfast United Irishmen; also writers who took the Gaelic stand like John Mitchel.

The Irish Protestant Church sought, at the start, an Irish national *status*, but the fear of Catholic absorption caused it to embrace the State policy of anglicisation; which policy was promoted by the University of Dublin from the start, but with redoubled force under the influence of Swift and Berkeley. Thus, Anglo-Irish history, in truth, is that of a struggle between official anglicisation and the more generous impulses of the Protestant people themselves. The " green " emblems of Anglo-Irish patriotic tradition are Gaelic phenomena in the strict sense of the word phenomena; they are the Gaelic past, as it shone through anglicisation in the period before Protestant anglicisation was complete. They deserve study and respect.

To ask Protestants, or Anglo-Irish folk, to take up Gaelic studies is not to demand more of them than a due pious interest in their own antecedents. The complete boycott of Irish things, even on the census paper, which Lord Craigavon's Northern Government practises, is unhistorical as well as illiberal; perhaps, for this very reason, it will fail, since the call of the blood must assert itself in the Ulster Protestants some day. All penal action against Irish culture is a mark of the inner fear that it will conquer—one does not penalise Esperanto!

In all countries, truth in history is the greatest of healers. We who desire spiritual reunion must wish that the Anglo-Irish will cease to rest on the political *Anglo* and will give its due place to the historic *Irish*, or Gaelic, in their past. To do this will be for the community to follow the path of so many individuals, back to the position where the roads divided and beyond which there lies the happier unity, spiritual peace.

Aodh de Blacam

CHARLES O'CONOR OF BELANAGARE

An Irish Scholar's Education

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J.

Part II.—A Visit to Dublin 1727-1728 [1]

IN one of the many reminiscences which are to be found in the letters which Charles O'Conor wrote as an old man, the following passage occurs in a letter to a friend: "To the best of fathers I owe my being instructed in grammar, learning by such schoolmasters as this country could afford." He then continues: "At the age of seventeen I had better fortune by being sent to Dublin, and being put to the care of Mr. Skelton, a learned and worthy man." The early diaries confirm this statement, for they record that he and his tutor—a Mr. Wall, of whom nothing further seems to be known—left Kilmactranny in March 1727. The two travellers spent the summer with some neighbours, reached Belanagare (where the rest of the family had been for some months) on October 21, and set out for Dublin a few days later. They reached the city on Monday, November 6, and remained there for the next five months. Of the work done in the interval the diaries have little to record save the constantly repeated entry: *a rudhma Mr. Skelton dhamh.* Evidently the greater part of his time in Dublin was given to classes at Mr. Skelton's house, and the diaries note that these classes began, now at ten, now at nine, now at eight in the morning. Of this new tutor to whom young Charles O'Conor's education was now entrusted, a few further facts may be gleaned from contemporary records. Walter Skelton was an Irish secular priest who

[1] For Part I see issue of March

had been educated in France. He was ordained to the priesthood at Kilkenny by Dr. Whelan, Bishop of Ossory, in 1688, and was registered before the civil magistrates as pastor of the parish of St. Peter in Dublin in 1704. When Charles O'Conor became his pupil twenty-three years later, Father Skelton—or Mr. Skelton, as a priest was still styled in the eighteenth century—was a man of more than sixty years of age. He was a noted teacher of the natural sciences, but Latin and the modern languages also found a place in his Academy. Charles O'Conor gives the following account of his studies there in a letter written many years later: "In his [Mr. Skelton's] Academy I was improved in the Latin tongue and initiated into the elements of mathematical learning. Under the same master I picked up as much French as enabled me to understand that language in books, but I was never in the habit of conversing in it." This brief statement can be supplemented from an unusually vivid and interesting passage in his grandson's *Memoirs* :—

> After spending some years in the manner which I have mentioned—translating some of the Classics into English and Irish, and becoming a great proficient in the latter by the instructions of Father Dignan—Mr. O'Conor was sent to Dublin in 1727 to study mathematics and to make a further progress in the dead languages.
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> A Mr. Walter Skelton, a Roman Catholic priest, to whose care Mr. O'Conor was consigned in Dublin and whose many acts of friendship he often mentioned to me with grateful remembrance, was well aware of the many inconveniences brought upon youth by confining them too long to Greek and Latin. He was satisfied that his pupil should perceive the beauties of Virgil and Horace, Homer and Demosthenes; and instead of the eternal pedantry which prevailed at this time, not only among the poor vulgar Irish but even at College, he shewed him the cause of the variety of the seasons, of the inequality of days and nights, the wonders of vision, the nature of fluids, and the order of the universe.
>
> Mr. Skelton, says he in a letter to his friend Dr. Carpenter, was the first who gave me a relish for these entertaining, edifying and sublime studies; my mind was enlightened, and my heart, contracted hitherto by the narrowness of such selfish and bigoted

times, began to dilate and expand itself by contemplation. I felt forcibly the presence of the Deity vivifying and actuating all nature and bestowing upon worthless mortals exhaustless treasures, while they themselves were denying a miserable pittance to those who were created for the blessings of Providence as well as they.

What is the reason, said Skelton to me one day after dinner, that you see the light of the sun after sunset? I made some ridiculous answer, upon which he smiled, and taking the punch-bowl: Observe, said he, the sprig at the bottom of this bowl—withdraw from it just to such a distance as merely to lose sight of the sprig, and no more. When I had done so, he took the kettle, poured in some water, and without his moving the bowl or my moving from my place, I again saw the sprig. There, said he, is one of the wonders of vision, and you will not tell me why or how you see the light of the sun after sunset, until you can explain the cause of this other phenomenon no less extraordinary. Here I called to him eagerly for an explanation, which he gave on condition that I would apply to natural philosophy.

Such were the intellectual interests that stimulated the young boy's mind during the five months he remained in Dublin. But they were not the only influences to which he was subjected at this time. His sojourn in the city coincided with an interesting episode in Dublin history. Early in May 1727 the city journals had been full of the forthcoming visit of His Majesty George I to his German possessions. The King was anxious to celebrate his sixty-ninth birthday at home in Hanover. But he was still on his journey through Holland when on June 9th—the day after his birthday—his heart collapsed as he was driving towards his brother's residence at Osnaburg. The news was carried with all haste to England, and on June 14th Robert Walpole broke into the curtained chamber at Richmond Castle where the Prince of Wales was asleep after his dinner. Half asleep, half awake, the Prince received the homage of his new subjects, and the reign of George II began. When Charles O'Conor reached Dublin in the following November, the six months of public mourning which had been ordered by royal proclamation in honour of the dead King was still being observed.

All coaches, carriages and chairs were draped in black; the use of "bullion nails, varnish and escutcheons of arms" was prohibited; and special regulations governed the dress of all ladies and gentlemen who held office under the Crown.

The news of the King's death was received with mixed feelings in political circles, both in London and in Dublin. As Prince of Wales, George II had made a point of emphasising the differences between himself and his father, and had sided with the opposition on all matters of state. Would he now reverse his father's policy? If he did, Walpole must step down from his high position; the good understanding that had existed for some years between the courts of England and France must be endangered, while the political position of the English and Irish Catholics would be weakened as a consequence. If in most respects the general position of Catholics was worse in 1727 than it had been in 1714, there had been one alleviation to their troubles during the reign of George I: the Anglo-French entente after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht had tended to weight the balance in their favour. Cardinal Fleury, the French Minister, had not hesitated to use his influence on their behalf, and he had never failed to manifest his displeasure at each new repressive measure which was added to the Penal Code. It was even whispered in political circles that, with the Cardinal's powerful aid, there was still some hope of regaining part at least of those properties which had been forfeited by the Irish Catholic gentry and nobility as the price of their adherence to the Stuarts.

Once the news of the King's death had reached Ireland, the recognised leaders of the Catholic cause in this country lost no time in taking council. An address of loyal congratulation was drafted in the name of the Irish Catholics, and Lord Delvin was commissioned to present it to the then Viceroy, Lord Carteret. Carteret was in England at the time, and Lord Delvin crossed the Channel

to meet him with the least possible delay. Indeed, so quick was the action of the Catholic peers that they forestalled many Protestant public bodies in Dublin, as for example the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College. George Faulkner, a Dublin printer and proprietor of the *Dublin Journal*, got word of what was afoot, and published an account of the proposed address in the middle of July. This had the effect of procuring for Faulkner an exact copy of the address, which he published in the next issue of his *Journal*, adding a note wherein he promised to insert "His Majesty's most gracious answer" as soon as it came to hand. From the first there had been some division of opinion among the Irish Catholic peers about the wisdom of presenting such an address. Many argued that it was too bold a course of action, and would only rouse their enemies once more against them. Some anxious weeks followed, during which nothing more was heard. Then the suspense was broken towards the end of August, when Lord Delvin received a letter from Lord Carteret, mention of which was duly made in the *Dublin Journal*. In this letter, so Faulkner told his readers, "His Excellency, after having expressed the obligation he was under to his Lordship and the other Roman Catholic Peers for their good opinion of him, proceeds to acquaint his Lordship that the King received the address very graciously, and had commanded him to assure his Lordship that his Majesty desired nothing more than to make all his subjects easy and happy under his government. His Excellency also signified to his Lordship that, after having presented the address to the King, he had the honour to lay it before the Queen, and he concludes with assurances of his friendship."

The hopes raised by this encouraging communication were still high when Charles O'Conor arrived in Dublin on November 6, 1727. Six days later the Viceroy reached the city from England. His entry was marked by the usual public demonstrations, promenades and festivities—

all of which must have been a novel experience for the young man who had just arrived from the West of Ireland. On the 26th the new Viceroy went in state to the opening of Parliament. The present Bank of Ireland—Grattan's Houses of Parliament—was not yet built, but its site was occupied by an older and less elaborate structure, known as Chichester House. On the day of the opening there was a great to-do in the city. All lesser traffic was shut off from the streets round College Green. The sides of the street leading from the Castle Yard to the Houses of Parliament were lined with soldiers; a squadron of cavalry preceded the Viceroy's coach, and a military band sounded his advance along the way. Of the ceremonies that took place within the building young O'Conor can have had no view. Up to the year 1710 Irish Catholics were admitted to the galleries of the House of Commons, but from that year onwards they were rigorously excluded.

In itself exclusion from the galleries and precincts of the Houses of Parliament was an unwarranted aggression against the civil rights of Catholics; but it was a small matter when compared with the many other disabilities which had by now been imposed on the general body of Irish Catholics. Young Charles O'Conor, who was conscious that he was the descendant of men who had once been High Kings of Ireland, must have felt the gravity of these disabilities with special force during the first winter he spent in the city of Dublin. Here was he, seventeen years of age, on the threshold of manhood, at one of the most impressionable periods of a young man's life, yet hemmed in by restrictions on every side. Like his Catholic fellow-countrymen he was cut off from every form of active political life. Even in the municipal and commercial world Catholics had no recognised place, for they were rigidly excluded from membership of either the City Corporation or the organised trade-guilds. The professions were similarly closed to their ambitions, with the exception of the medical profession, where a small

number of Catholic doctors, who had been forced to go abroad for their education, were able to earn a livelihood by medical practice among patients who were for the most part the poorest of the poor. In the legal profession all hope of admittance to the Bar was denied, unless the ambitious young Catholic layman was willing to do violence to his conscience and make a formal submission to the Protestant Establishment. As it happens a document from this very period throws a vivid light on the inevitable results of such unjust legislation. In the year 1727, just as young O'Conor was coming up to Dublin for the first of many visits, the Protestant Primate Boulter made the following complaint in one of his official letters :—

> The practice of the law, from the top to the bottom, is at present mostly in the hands of new converts, who give no further security on this account than producing a certificate of their having received the Sacrament in the Church of England or Ireland, which several of those who were Papists at London obtain on their road hither, and demand to be admitted barrister in virtue of it on their arrival; and several of them have Popish wives, and Mass said in their houses, and breed up their children Papists. Things are at present so bad with us, that if about six should be removed from the bar to the bench here, there will not be a barrister of note left that is not a convert.

The hopes which the Irish Catholic Peers had fostered after the first favourable reception granted to their Address of Congratulation were doomed to disappointment. Nothing was done by the new King to alleviate the lot of the Catholics, either in England or in Ireland, and no steps were taken towards the restoration of the forfeited estates. And a similar disappointment awaited those who may have looked to the rising discontent in Dublin against English rule as a source from which help might be expected. When young Charles O'Conor reached Dublin in the autumn of 1727, five years had gone by since Dean Swift had launched his famous attack on Wood's halfpence. The Dean was still a popular hero among Dublin's citizens, and just twelve months previously

the bells of the city had been rung and bonfires lighted to welcome him home on his return from one of his visits to London. The youthful scholar must often have heard Swift's name mentioned in the talk of his friends, and it is possible that he may have become familiar with some of the great Dean's pamphlets at this time. If he did, he must have found himself for the first time in contact with that peculiar mentality against which he was to contend for most of his long life. Dean Swift was never weary of fine phrases about human rights and human liberties; and in the fourth of his *Drapier Letters* he tells his readers that "by the laws of God, of Nature, of Nations and of their country they were, and ought to be, as free a people as their brethren in England." These were fine words indeed; but neither the Dean nor any of his Anglo-Irish Protestant readers ever thought of applying them to the Irish Papists, who were so deliberately excluded from every function of public life in their own country. So too, when Swift argued that the imposition of taxes in Ireland without the consent of the Irish Parliament was "the very definition of slavery," there was again no thought of the burdens which pressed so heavily on the great majority of the country's inhabitants. In truth Dean Swift's interest in Irish politics corresponded with none of that genuine love of the country and pride in its great past which animated Charles O'Conor in his long-sustained efforts on behalf of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. That he had "happened to be dropped in Ireland" was the way Swift once put it to a friend. And in a letter which he posted to Bolingbroke during the very winter of Charles O'Conor's first visit to Dublin, he expressed his haunting fear that he might be left to die there "like a poisoned rat in a hole." Indeed the tragedy of Swift's last years was already a gathering cloud in this very winter of 1727-8. He had been absent in England during the summer, but had hastened back to Dublin, half-mad with grief, at the news of Stella's

failing health. During most of the winter he shut himself up in his Deanery near the Cathedral; and it was from the Deanery windows that he looked out one January evening to see Stella's funeral pass by on its way to St. Patrick's. This was a world very different, in speech and thought and feeling, from the world which young Charles O'Conor had known at Kilmactranny and Belanagare.

Dublin was for him indeed, as he entered it for the first time, a city of strange sights and happenings—"a busy elbowing scene," as he described it to his own son a quarter of a century later, when his son was in turn spending some months in the capital for the first time. The pity is that, though he kept a diary of his movements for these winter months, he records little that helps us to visualise more clearly the scenes with which he must have been so familiar. At no time in his life was he a particularly vivid recorder of passing events—least of all at this stage in his intellectual development, when his mind was full of the lessons he was learning in Father Walter Skelton's Academy. All that his youthful diaries record, for example, is that he visited some O'Conor friends in the city, or that he took a walk with his tutor through Stephen's Green, then little better than a swampy common. One day he notes that he paid a visit to one of the city's playhouses, and on another day he watched a dead body being dragged up from the river. Of the appearance of the city as a whole, and of the changes that were then being made in its buildings, he has nothing to say. In 1727 the greater part of the city still lay on the south side of the Liffey; the present grounds of Trinity College were just being cleared and levelled; Cork Hill was the chief centre of business; and there were as yet no bridges across the Liffey below the present Grattan Bridge. The great eighteenth-century houses, which are to-day Dublin's chief pride, were not yet built; the streets were noisy and ill-kept; but the traffic was already sufficient to cause complaint.

But these are things of which Charles O'Conor's early diaries say nothing. A similar reticence is noticeable in all that relates to the politics and public life of the city. Here no doubt lack of sympathy with a Hanoverian government offers a partial explanation. What claimed the attention of the Protestant Ascendancy in Dublin could have but little interest for one whose loyalties at home were all directed towards the house for which his ancestors had fought in the preceding century and in whose cause his grandfather had lost all his estates. Some of the earliest pages in the diaries are devoted to notes about the age and claims to royalty of the leading members of the house of Stuart. Nor are we left in doubt that young Charles O'Conor's friends in Dublin were staunch adherents of the Stuart cause.

For some years past Dublin had been a centre towards which several Irish poets and scholars of distinction had drifted from the Provinces, and by a happy chance a document has survived from these winter months 1728-29 which enables us to get a glimpse of the society in which Charles O'Conor moved at his ease, and made friends who were to remain his friends for many years to come.

Seán Ó Neachtain, a poet from Athlone who had settled for most of his life in Co. Meath, is one of the most characteristic figures in the generation of Irishmen who saw the battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick. Poet and story-teller, he has left a considerable body of work which reflects in all its moods and humours the life of the Irish-speaking Ireland of his day. His son, Tadhg Ó Neachtain, was a poet of less merit, and is better known to Irish scholars as a scribe and the author of an English-Irish dictionary and an Irish grammar. Father and son were both living in Dublin when young Charles O'Conor came up to the city from Co. Roscommon, and some friend must have introduced him to them and to their circle of kindred spirits. That circle was wider than any reader of Dean Swift's letters and pamphlets would have

thought possible in the English-speaking eighteenth-century society which the Dean describes. Priests and laymen, poets, scribes and scholars—twenty-six in all—are commemorated by Tadhg Ó Neachtain in a set of verses in Deibhidhe metre, which affect the forms of classical Irish poetry, though with no more than indifferent technical skill. Young Charles O'Conor is included in this list of the poet's friends, and his merits are thus described :—

> Cathal Ó Conchubhair Chruachainn Chuinn
> bhus ceart a raomhadh san gcrodhbhuinn
> bu spailp an searc, ní fá a chleith,
> a bhfhritiol gaoiseach na Gaoidhilge.

Of the twenty-six poets and scholars thus named by Tadhg Ó Neachtain as resident in Dublin about this time, ten at least were natives of Leinster, six of Connacht, five of Munster, and one at least of Ulster. This fact alone must have been an experience for young O'Conor, who had hitherto been educated in a purely Connacht tradition. And the list of Tadhg Ó Neachtain's friends includes some very distinguished names. The Clare poet, historian and scholar, Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitin, is perhaps the best known of the group. At this very time he was at work on an Irish grammar, which he published at Louvain in 1728 ; and four years later (1732) he published at Paris, in collaboration with Father Conor Begley, a folio English-Irish dictionary on which he must have been at work for many years. Father Francis Walsh, O.F.M. (Proinnsias Wailis), another member of the group, was also a grammarian and lexicographer. For years he collaborated with Tadhg Ó Neachtain on a great Latin-English-Irish dictionary, which is still in manuscript in Marsh's Library, Dublin ; and he was also the author of an unpublished Irish grammar. Another member of the group was Diarmuid Ó Conchubhair, the Munster scholar who first translated Keating's *Forus Feasa* into English : his trans-

lation was published in Dublin in 1723, and was reprinted in 1726. Two Dublin scholars of the group, Richard Tipper and William Lynch, were both well known scribes, whose handwriting is still familiar to Irish scholars. And a Connachtman, Dr. John Fergus (Eoin Ó Feargusa), was one of the most active collectors of Irish manuscripts at this period. Some at least of his treasures are now in the library of Trinity College, having been bought at a sale in Dublin after the doctor's death. But one, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, was thought too precious by its owner to be allowed pass under the auctioneer's hammer. The doctor bequeathed it as a family heirloom to his daughter, who kept it during her lifetime and then passed it to a friend, from whom it came eventually into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy. This well-known manuscript is a collection of ecclesiastical poems, legends and lives of saints. In its origin it seems to have been the work of Roscommon scholars, and it is very probable that Dr. John Fergus was himself a Roscommon man. It would be natural to guess that it was Fergus who introduced young Charles O'Conor to the circle of O'Neachtain's friends, if the Roscommon connection were certainly proved. But in one of his letters to a friend, O'Conor states definitely that he did not meet the doctor before 1729. Either O'Conor's memory was at fault in the matter, or else Fergus missed the young boy at the time of his first visit to Dublin in the winter of 1727-8.

As it happens, O'Conor was brought into contact with this group of scholars at a time when several of its members were engaged on work of national importance. Seán Ó Neachtain himself, who was by this time an old man, died in Dublin on March 9, 1728—a few weeks before O'Conor's return to Belanagare. But Tadhg was still at the height of his powers, and his house was evidently the meeting-place for all these scholars. His house was also at the moment the resting-place of a very famous old Irish manuscript, the Book of Ballymote. This fourteenth-

century treasury of Irish literature and history is now in the keeping of the Royal Irish Academy. But in the seventeenth century it was in the Library of Trinity College, whither it had probably come with the rest of Archbishop Ussher's books and manuscripts. In an old catalogue of the Library, still preserved, the Book of Ballymote is entered as "wanting in 1742." The story of its loss and later reappearance in Thomas Durnin's house at Drogheda towards the end of the century, has a bearing on Charles O'Conor's own interest in the preservation of old Irish manuscripts. The Book seems to have been lent to one of the College Fellows, Dr. Anthony Raymond, about the year 1720. Dr. Raymond, who was one of Dean Swift's circle, was also a friend of the group associated with Tadhg Ó Neachtain. The second edition of Dermod O'Conor's translation of Keating, published at Westminster in 1726, contains an Appendix "collected from the Remarks of the Learned Dr. Anthony Raymond of Trim." Raymond must have lent the Book of Ballymote to Tadhg Ó Neachtain, for the Irish scholar is known to have made a list of its contents in 1726, and shortly afterwards he made long extracts from the Book in his own handwriting. Tadhg's list of contents and series of extracts are now in Trinity College library, so that he seems to have been working for Dr. Raymond at this time. In addition, a second member of the group, Richard Tipper, made a copy of the greater part of the Book in 1728; and this copy is also in the College library. The Book must therefore have been accessible to Ó Neachtain's friends during these years; and O'Conor's earliest diary confirms this conclusion. At the beginning of a little almanac, which he bought in Dublin early in 1728, he has copied out a short extract about the different ages of the world, and has added the following note: *ag Tadhg O Neachtuin ro sgriobhadh sin an Ceathramhadh Lá don Mhárta as Leabhar Bhaile an Mhúta.* Another extract, made with far greater care and in the young

boy's most elaborate Irish script, is entered in a volume of Irish extracts which he began at Dublin in the January of 1728. This extract is from a poem on his own ancestors, the kings of Connacht, and there is a note at the end to say that he had copied the passage from the Book of Ballymote in Dublin on January 20, 1728. Charles O'Conor must thus have had regular access to the famous Book in Tadhg Ó Neachtain's house, at the very time when Tadhg's friend, Richard Tipper, was busy copying from it for Dr. Anthony Raymond. What happened after this is obscure. The Book was missing from the College library in 1742, but Tadhg Ó Neachtain was still able to make extracts from it in 1745, shortly before his death. The Book then disappears, and is next heard of in the keeping of Thomas Durnin who was living at Drogheda between the years 1760 and 1769. Thomas Durnin is perhaps to be connected with Peadar Ó Doirnín, the leading poet of S.E. Ulster in the generation after Tadhg Ó Neachtain. It is just possible that Tadhg, who was loth to let the Book back into English hands, may have passed it to a fellow-poet before his death; but, if so, the transaction was kept a secret from the College authorities. Officially, the Book was reported as "missing" in the Library catalogue; and a report was current in Vallancey's day that the manuscript had been stolen by one of Dr. Raymond's servants at some unknown date. As soon as Charles O'Conor, then an old man and an acknowledged authority on all matters pertaining to ancient Irish history, heard of the Book's recovery after Durnin's death, he borrowed it for three years from his friend, Chevalier O'Gorman, and the Book in its present condition bears the traces of his interest in its contents. For there is a full account of the Book's recent history in O'Conor's handwriting pasted on to the first page of the manuscript, and O'Conor has also made marginal notes in English all through the manuscript, evidently with the idea of guiding scholars who might be less familiar with the Irish language.

This interest in the study of old Irish manuscripts, added to the interest that the young boy was taking in Father Skelton's classes in mathematics and physics, more than accounts for his lack of interest in the contemporary politics of his day. His mind was full of new ideas and freshly acquired knowledge; and what little time he had to spare from these studies was given to the work of copying extracts from various Irish manuscripts. A book of these extracts, which he began in January 1728, is filled with passages from various sources, all copied in his own neat hand during the next few months. Judged by modern standards the handwriting is remarkably neat and regular, but Charles O'Conor was an exacting critic of his own work. A year or two later, when he had returned to Belanagare and had settled down to regular work at home, he added a marginal note in his more developed handwriting, apologising for the hasty and faulty work which he had produced in Dublin. But this book of Irish extracts was plainly a possession of which the young scholar was, not unjustifiably, proud. Week by week, he records his progress in the work of copying, entering the date at the end of each piece which he completed, or in the margin of a piece which he has yet to complete. Many are extracts from lists of the Kings of Connacht, a subject in which an O'Conor was naturally interested. But for the most part he is at work on the text which he had first read at Kilmactranny under Dominic O'Duigenan's direction—the *Contention of the Bards*. His copy was still unfinished when he left Dublin for Belanagare on April 12, 1728. But it was continued almost immediately after his return home; and the first entry in his diary after this change of residence may be taken as typical of his daily life for the next two or three years: *Dia hAoine Aprilis* 12 *ro Fhágbhus Ath Cliath agus thangus go Belatha na gCarr dia Cedaoin an* 17 *lá dég agus ar mo studer an mo Ruma anos dhamh.* CHARLES O'CONOR

GENERAL CHARLES JENNINGS KILMAINE 1751—1799

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part II*

AFTER his dismissal from the army Kilmaine retired with his wife to the Parisian suburb of Passy. There he lived quietly for some months—it was the period when the Reign of Terror had just begun. In October 1793 a decree of the National Convention ordered the immediate imprisonment of all foreign residents in France whose countries were at war with the Republic. Ireland, through the voice of the Colonial assembly that masqueraded as a Parliament in Dublin, had been committed, against the wishes of the immense majority of her people, to England's war against the French nation. The result was that all Irish citizens then in France came within the scope of the Convention's decree. Kilmaine and his wife were accordingly placed under arrest and imprisoned as foreigners by an order of the Committee of Public Safety. This fresh act of injustice weighed heavily on him. He had given thirty of the best years of his life in unselfish devotion to France, had undergone nine campaigns and had fought in forty-six battles for her cause. His reward was a prison cell with the knife of the guillotine suspended above him! Up to July 1794, indeed, he expected that he would be at any time led before the Revolutionary Tribunal like his predecessor Custine and his successor Houchard—both of these illustrious Commanders-in-Chief had shortly before been tried and executed. While he lay in prison

* For Part I see June issue

a somewhat sinister letter from the Minister of War to Fouquier-Tinville, the notorious Prosecutor of the Tribunal, charged him among other things with abandoning the Camp of Caesar without striking a blow. The ending of the Terror, however, through the fall of the Robespierre faction at Thermidor, saved him from the tragic fate of his fellow-countrymen, Dillon, O'Moran and Ward, and of so many other gallant French officers.

A month later—on the 8th August, 1794—he was released, but was re-arrested two days later and detained till December, when an order signed by Carnot and other members of the Committee of Public Safety at last gave him his liberty.[1] Eager for military work, he immediately offered his services to the Republic :—

7 December 1794

From Jennings Kilmaine, suspended General of Division, to the Citizen Representatives of the Committee of Public Safety.

Citizen Representatives

You have restored me to the liberty of which an unjust accusation has deprived me for thirteen months. I have ceased during that time to be of any use to the commonweal. I have a sincere desire to show to those who hold an unfavourable opinion of me how unjust they have been regarding me. Place me in a position, Citizen Representatives, where I may fulfil that desire of mine by making use of my talents and my devotion to the cause of Liberty, which I successfully and faithfully served. Attached herewith is an account of my services and my work for the Revolution. You will see that no one has shown earlier and more faithful indications of his patriotism than I have.

A similar request to the Minister of War was accompanied by statements from Representatives to the army and from Generals with whom he served. All testified to his patriotic zeal, to his high military talents and entire trustworthiness, while some as well expressed

[1] During his incarceration he was removed from one place of detention to another. In the archives of the *Préfecture de Police* I have seen him registered as being imprisoned in various jails—the Madelonnettes, the Luxembourg, Saint-Lazare and Notre Dame des Champs.

sentiments of deep respect and warm affection. Such a record, he wrote to the Minister, merited at least a fair consideration, and his appeal continued :—

> I am an only son. My father and mother died some years ago at Tonnay-Charente, their place of residence. I have no means of any kind. For over twenty years I lived uninterruptedly with my regiment. Coming from an Irish family, I have had no relatives in France except my father and mother, and consequently could not have any relations among the *émigrés*.

The offer of his services received favourable consideration, and he was restored to the army. Within a few months he was to play a leading part in the Insurrection of Prairial, when he defended the National Convention against the insurgents of the faubourgs. That uprising had its origin nearly a year before, when Robespierre fell at the culmination of the Revolution in July 1794. The ending of the Terror at that time was followed by a sharp reaction in public opinion. The overcrowded jails were soon emptied, the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal were curtailed, and the Jacobin Club was suppressed. A new regime of order and justice developed and was fostered by the overwhelming majority of the National Convention. The only opposition to that body, which now wielded supreme power, came from the remnant of the Jacobin party that had been overthrown at Thermidor. These advocated a return to the Terror, and their leaders, threatened with impeachment by the Convention, plotted secretly for its overthrow. Availing of the deplorable condition just then of the poorer classes, Jacobin demagogues inflamed their minds against the government. Plans were being matured at the same time for an insurrection, and it was arranged that the National Convention should be surrounded. On the morning of 20 May (1st Prairial) 1795 the storm burst. Armed Jacobins assembled in large numbers in various quarters, and a tumultuous mob carrying pikes, swords and muskets burst into the assembly chamber and assassinated Ferraud,

one of the Deputies. On the following day the Convention, hearing that the main body of the insurgents was mobilised in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine with several pieces of cannon, determined to crush the conspiracy. It issued a decree declaring that, if the rebels did not at once surrender their arms and artillery, the Faubourg would be bombarded. To Kilmaine was entrusted the command of the right wing of the force, numbering 4,000 troops, which was employed to execute the orders of the Deputies. He has left a vivid account of his experiences while carrying out the task imposed on him [1]:—

The Deputies of the National Convention, after conferring on me the command of the armed forces of Paris, gave me an order to mobilise a division of 1,200 men with two pieces of artillery at the Place du Palais National. My instructions were to proceed with this division to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, to surround Santerre's house and to search it for Cambon and Thuriot who were in hiding there. As a support 1,500 or 2,000 troops were to follow.

At 5.30 in the morning I set out from the Place du Carouzel; I followed the quays and almost the entire length of the rue Saint-Antoine. I arranged my troops in battle-order opposite Santerre's house, but found no trace of Cambon or Thuriot. At this stage I received an order (contrary to the first) that I was not to enter the Faubourg, but was merely to guard its approaches while awaiting the arrival of all the troops to surround it. I returned to the Boulevard and waited there till the entire forces would be ready for the arrest of the assassins and their accomplices and for the disarmament. A rumour was brought that barricades were being erected to bar our passage, and several citizens came and begged that no force should be used except as a last resource, for many good patriots would suffer. Persuasion and the use of reason towards misguided men were too much part of our principles not to employ them.

We begun our march and arrived at the first barricade. We were received with yells and the most shocking insults from a crowd of armed men and from a still larger crowd of women or rather furies. I summoned them in the name of the Law and the national Representatives to deliver up the assassin of Deputy Ferraud and to open the barricade at once; and I announced

[1] *Detailed Report on the events of the 4 Prairial in the Faubourg Saint Antoine.*

that if they refused, I would batter it down with artillery, thus placing on the rebels the responsibility of the terrible results of their obstinacy. After using threats and reason alternately, a passage was at last made through the barricade. . . .

Kilmaine's narrative goes on to tell how five columns of the troops surrounded the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. At its entrance he halted and read a proclamation telling the rebels that, if the orders of the National Convention were not at once obeyed, he would reduce the quarter to ashes. His firmness and tact were successful. Arms were delivered up, the leaders of the conspiracy were arrested, and the attempt to revive the regime of the Terror was entirely crushed. Its suppression, which meant the triumph of the Convention and the establishment of justice and humanity, was received with much relief by the citizens.

A few weeks after the insurrection Kilmaine was officially informed of his appointment as Commander of a cavalry division in the army destined for the conquest of Italy. He was at the same time requested to take up his new duties early in July. Imprisonment had, however, injured his health, and his reply stating that it would be impossible for him to do so was accompanied by a certificate from his Irish doctor, Edmund St. Ledger.

In the autumn he was still in Paris, where troubles were again brewing. A fresh insurrection, which aimed at undermining the power of the National Convention, broke out there in Vendemiaire (October 1795). Kilmaine once more took an active part in the military operations that followed and assisted Bonaparte in suppressing the new challenge to the national authority.

Early in 1796 the French government, then represented by the Directory, made active preparations to carry on the war against the European coalition with new vigour on all fronts. It was resolved to pursue hostilities against Austria in particular, and that country, the dominant member of the coalition, was to be struck

at in Italy, which was then under her sway. Some time previously a plan for this campaign had been submitted by an unknown artillery Captain, who believed that its adoption would crush the enemies of France and bring renown to her name. A French army was to move swiftly from the Riviera coast and cut the connection between the troops of Austria and those of her Sardinian allies. The former would then be driven north-east out of Italy, and the French forces, crossing the Tyrolese Alps, would join up with the Army of the Rhine and march straight to Vienna. This plan, though it seemed to some to be too fantastic for serious consideration, was favoured by Carnot, the military genius of the Revolution and now a member of the Directory ; and at his suggestion the command of the Army of Italy was conferred on Bonaparte, who had submitted the daring design.

Glowing with enthusiasm, the young Commander set out at the end of March 1796 on what was to be one of the most brilliant campaigns in history. In a few months all Italy was at his feet. Within a year his triumphs had dazzled Europe, and he was dictating terms of peace to the most formidable rival of his country. Among his Generals was Kilmaine, whose renown as a cavalry officer already stood high. Ability as a leader of the advance guard was his special attribute, and it was in this capacity that he played a memorable part throughout the great campaign.

Bonaparte began by moving swiftly from the Riviera coast into Italy between the Alps and Apennines. The allied forces which opposed his entrance retreated at his approach, but after a few days he fell upon and cut their centre at Montenotte and, by completely separating the Austrian from the Sardinian armies, gained his first notable victory. An armistice with the latter made him, within a fortnight, master of the rich Italian province of Piedmont. The retreat of the Austrians continued, but on 10 May, 1796, he overtook them at Lodi. There

another triumph followed, to which Kilmaine contributed by a brilliant cavalry charge at the height of the conflict, and within a few days another province—that of Lombardy—was in French hands. Immediately afterwards Kilmaine, at the head of a cavalry division, dashed across its fertile valleys and reached the capital, Milan, which the main army entered in triumph on the 15 May. In that city Bonaparte delayed for a week, organising national guards and establishing revolutionary councils for administrative purposes. From his headquarters there he wrote (20 May, 1796) to the Irish officer, definitely entrusting him with control of the advance guard: "It is decreed that you take command of the advance guard of the Army, composed of 1,600 horse, 5 battalions of grenadiers and 3 battalions of carabineers . . . . although in charge of the advance guard, you will still remain at the head of the Army's cavalry."[1]

In the meantime Kilmaine was on the heels of the still retreating Austrians and was daily breaking new ground for the advance of the main body of the French forces. On the 25 May he entered the important city of Brescia, and four days later came up on the enemy at Borghetto, where a conflict took place in which, fighting with much valour, he had a horse shot under him. Starting off again on the evening of the battle, he pushed on to the strategic centre of Castel Nuovo, from which town he sent a dispatch to Bonaparte on the 30 May: "The enemy has evacuated Castel Nuovo and is in full retreat. I am taking the cavalry of the advance guard and four pieces of artillery to pursue him. Being much too busy, I am unable to send you a circumstantial account of the affair at Borghetto."

By this time, although only two months had elapsed since the French entered Italy, the Austrians were already driven over its confines into the defiles of the Tyrol. But one great fortress-town—that of Mantua—

[1] *Corresp. de Napoléon.*

still remained in the hands of Austria. Within its walls was a garrison of 13,000 of her soldiers. The possession of this "Gibraltar of Italy" was of paramount importance to the French Commander-in-Chief, for with such a dangerous stronghold in his rear he dare not pursue the enemy through the Tyrol and crown his triumphs by joining up with the Army of the Rhine. Austria, too, realising its strategic value, hoped through its relief to recover her Italian possession. During the succeeding six months she was to send four great armies at different times to help the beleaguered town, but on each occasion, as we shall now see, they were fated to be driven back by the energy and superb strategy of Bonaparte.

The first army of relief, numbering 50,000 men and under the command of Wurmser, one of the great Generals of the time, crossed the frontier in July at three widely separated points. In the new circumstances Bonaparte determined to make fuller use than hitherto of his cavalry under Kilmaine. These days of July soon became perilous ones for the French army, and Kilmaine, accordingly, had particularly arduous and responsible work placed on his shoulders. Day and night he was scarcely ever out of the saddle—it was the period when he became known as "the Ulysses of the army." Thus on the seventh of that month he was at Vicenza, where he wrote to Bonaparte: "The enemy, who are very near, having been informed of my coming, had drawn up a plan to capture me—or at least to ambush me—as I left the town; but I did my business nevertheless." Within twenty-four hours he is forty miles away at Verona, and four days later he is a hundred miles to the west at the general headquarters at Valeze. From that town Bonaparte reports to the Directory on 10 July that "General Kilmaine with 2,000 cavalry stands in readiness here to start for any point at which the enemy might be disposed to attempt a passage."[1] And finally at the end of the

[1] *Corresp. de Napoléon.*

month he is in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, where the splendid tactics of his cavalry helped to roll back into Tyrol the formidable army of General Wurmser.

The strenuous weeks preceding this great triumph left Kilmaine's health temporarily broken. Immediately after it he wrote to Bonaparte: "The total loss of my strength prevents me, my dear General, from joining you and sharing your glory. Fever and pain have so reduced me that I cannot hold myself upright, much less sit on a horse. I am going to Brescia in quest of relief. With rest and bark I hope to rejoin you shortly . . ." The respite from his labours was, however, a brief one; for within a few weeks the enemy, despite their recent reverse, were making hurried preparations for a second effort to relieve Mantua.

Early in September a new Austrian army, reorganised and well equipped, again advanced under Wurmser towards the Italian frontier. Bonaparte determined to proceed at once against it and set out towards the Tyrol, leaving Kilmaine with 3,000 troops at the important strategic centre of Verona. The Austrian Commander, mistaking the object of Bonaparte's march, ordered his advance guard to move on Verona with a view to its capture. Outside that town several obstinate encounters took place in which Kilmaine, as Bonaparte reported in his despatch to the French government, "was able with his usual sagacity to check and overawe the enemy, whom he repulsed with artillery every time they tried to penetrate." In the meantime the French Commander-in-Chief was engaged in attacking the rear of the Austrian forces. He defeated them with heavy losses at Bassano and, by eventually driving them inside the walls of Mantua, crushed the second expedition for its relief.

In the middle of September Bonaparte conferred on Kilmaine supreme command of the 10,000 troops occupied in blockading the great fortress. During the following month Austria, undaunted by failure, sent her most

famous soldier, Alvinzi, to make a further effort for its relief. This, too, was fated to end in disaster, and finally, four months later, the crisis came when the last of the great imperial armies was repulsed and Mantua surrendered to the French forces. The fall of the important stronghold was hailed with acclamation throughout France, marking, as it did, the complete conquest of Italy. Bonaparte paid due tribute to Kilmaine for his part in achieving the triumph—" it was Kilmaine," he said, " who carried out the second blockade of Mantua and rendered splendid service there." And the French government, too, acknowledged his labours in a special message of thanks [1] :—

> The Executive Directory, on the occasion of the surrender of Mantua, desires to mark its recognition of the success with which you have assisted in the blockade of that city. After giving such repeated proofs of valour and genius in the field, you now have an opportunity, full of interest, for further service equally important. And the Directory always has complete trust in your wisdom and the purity of your Republican principles.

After the fall of Mantua Bonaparte prepared to move northwards through the Tyrol into Austria with his main army of 50,000 men. Before starting he entrusted the onerous post of Commandant of all northern Italy to Kilmaine, whom he instructed at the same time to keep a watchful eye on the Republic of Venice. Though this Republic remained neutral in the struggle between France and Austria, its people had suffered severely from the incursions and heavy exactions of the French into its territory. Despite this, however, a considerable part of the population in the towns were favourable to the sentiments of the French Revolution and were secretly organising to throw off the yoke of their effete and oligarchical government. On the other hand, the peasants and mountaineers were passionately attached to the old order and had the sympathy, if not the active support, of the Venetian government. The tension increased day

[1] *Moniteur*, 18 Feb. 1797.

by day, until finally several towns were invaded by the country people who, aided by their aristocratic supporters, murdered not only the local revolutionary sympathisers but French soldiers and citizens as well.

Kilmaine, whose position was a delicate one, at once issued orders to his officers to march into the rural districts and disarm the peasants. At the same time a courier, bearing an account of the serious state of affairs that had arisen, was sent by him to Bonaparte. The latter, after detailed instructions as to the punitive measures to be taken, concluded: "You are not to be deterred by any consideration whatsoever . . . . and if this Venetian situation is well handled, as everything you undertake is, these people will soon repent their perfidy." In the meantime the ferment was increasing, and by the middle of April it reached its height at Verona. There the supporters of the Venetian government, assisted by armed bands who had swarmed into that town from the districts around, joined together. They fell unexpectedly on the unarmed French troops and on the Jacobin sympathisers among the citizens and murdered them with much brutality. Not even the sick soldiers in the hospitals escaped the vengeance of the mob. When the news reached Kilmaine, he immediately set out at the head of 3,000 men and after a rapid march surrounded the town. The wild mobs within its walls and the municipality which sympathised with them were now struck with abject terror. Kilmaine threatened to reduce the town to ashes, unless there was an immediate and unconditional surrender. When the latter took place and he had executed the leaders of the mob who were found bearing arms, a fine of £50,000 was inflicted on the city. Cavalry were then sent by him to the country districts and their inhabitants disarmed. Order having been restored, he forwarded a dispatch to Bonaparte and awaited his decision regarding the future treatment of the rebellious town.

Soon afterwards the Commander-in-Chief hurried back to Italy. Filled with rage at the treatment of his soldiers, he exacted a heavy retribution from the terrified government of Venice, and that ancient oligarchy soon ceased to exist.

With the Italian conquest complete and the peace treaty with Austria concluded, Bonaparte returned to Paris in December 1797, leaving Kilmaine as Chief-of-Staff in supreme command of the army in Italy. The latter was, however, summoned in the same month by the Directory to the capital. There plans were being formed for another great expedition that, it was hoped, would destroy the only remaining rival to French supremacy in Europe—namely England.

. . . . . .

Various causes operating at the time account for the fact that Ireland responded more sympathetically than any other European country to the ideas spread by the French Revolution. For one thing, three-fourths of the nation, possessing neither rights nor privileges, were in virtual bondage, while an ascendancy, small and insolent, held a monopoly of place and power. Within a few years of the outbreak in France, the new revolutionary spirit, generated in that country, swept Ireland like a whirlwind. Under its influence an organisation, embracing all classes and crystallising popular sentiment, spontaneously sprung up. Its aims were at first confined to securing by constitutional means a reform of the assembly called a Parliament and the abolition of the grievances weighing so heavily on the Catholic population. But the bitter hostility of the all-powerful ascendancy junta soon showed the hopelessness of achieving these objects by peaceful methods. The organisation, accordingly, developed by degrees into a powerful revolutionary body, numbering in its ranks 300,000 disciplined and partially armed men. And by 1797 its objective had become the establishment

of an autonomous State separate from England and in alliance with France.

Never, indeed, did the prospects for the attainment of the independence of Ireland seem brighter than in the latter months of that year. The French Republic was then dominant in Europe, and accredited Irish agents had been cordially received by its Ministers, from whom they received definite promises of armed assistance. In December of the previous year one of these emissaries, Wolfe Tone, had succeeded in persuading the French government to send an expedition to Ireland. And though it failed in its immediate object, one great fact evolved from the venture—it proved that, despite the superiority of the English navy, it was feasible for a French fleet to land men and munitions in Ireland.

We have seen how triumphantly Bonaparte's Italian campaign ended in 1797, leaving the French Republic at peace with Austria and at war with England alone. The Directory, thus relieved of its pre-occupation with hostile activities on the Continent, concentrated all its attention on the mobilization of a great army, the *Armée d'Angleterre*, for the invasion and subjugation of the hated rival of France. Bonaparte was appointed its Commander-in-Chief on the very day in October 1797 that he signed the peace treaty with Austria. As he was not expected to return home till December, General Desaix was entrusted with the supervision of the arrangements for the proposed enterprise. The two Irish agents in France, Tone and Lewins, had frequent conversations with this officer and with Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, from whom they received reassuring promises of support for their cause. On the return of Bonaparte in December they had several interviews with him too, but on these occasions, as Tone states in his *Journal*, the Commander-in-Chief was curiously reticent regarding Ireland: "His manner is cold, and he speaks very little; it is not, however, as dry as that of Hoche, but seems

to proceed rather from languor than anything else. He is perfectly civil, however, to us; but from anything we have yet seen or heard, it is impossible to augur anything good or bad."

During the early days of 1798 the preparations for the projected invasion of the British Islands went on without intermission. The dockyards along the northern coasts of France had become busy centres of activity, and more than a thousand transports of the most varied kind were soon ready for the conveyance of the troops across the Channel. The army of invasion, composed of 40 infantry brigades and 54 cavalry regiments, had for its staff officers the most distinguished French soldiers of the day. Among them was Kilmaine, who was to command the Centre with 20,000 men specially intended for that portion of the armada destined for Ireland.[1]

In February Bonaparte set out on a tour of inspection along the northern coasts of France and remained several weeks engaged in the work. The results that followed from his mission were far-reaching, for the secret report which he sent to the Directory led to the abandonment of the great project. He declared that, in view of the inferior condition of the French navy, such an undertaking would be "the boldest and most difficult operation ever attempted." The fact, however, was that his thoughts during all the time were far away. Dazzled with day-dreams of glory in Egypt and the East, he placed before the Directory a project for striking effectively at English power in these regions. And having obtained its sanction for his schemes, he sailed away to the Mediterranean in May 1798.

During the early months of that year Ireland was seething with suppressed excitement. The United Irish organisation there only awaited the coming of the promised French aid to raise the standard of insurrection. But

[1] At this time a scare spread throughout England on account of the threatened invasion. There were frequent coarse references in English journals and newspapers to "Paddy Kilmaine and his gang."

the arrest of its leaders and the terrorist regime inaugurated by the English authorities caused active hostilities to commence prematurely in May. The Irish emissaries in France, on hearing of the outbreak, redoubled their efforts to send help to their countrymen. Their hopes were dashed, however, when Bonaparte sailed for Egypt, taking with him a considerable number of the intended army of invasion. The Directory, too, though apparently sympathetic, was lacking in money and energy for a new enterprise, and by the end of June news reached France that the insurgents had surrendered.

After Bonaparte had left France for his new conquests, Kilmaine was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the *Armée d'Angleterre.*[1] He had zealously co-operated with the Irish agents in their efforts to induce the French government to send aid to his struggling compatriots, and the news of the early termination of the insurrection came as a severe blow to his projects.[2] Yet he still hoped that hostilities might be renewed, and it was largely through his influence that two small expeditions were fitted out. One of these under General Humbert, numbering 1,000 men, was to start at once, the other soon afterwards under General Hardy with 3,000, while he himself was hoping to follow them with a large force of 10,000 men. Humbert arrived in August at Killala and after a six weeks' heroic campaign surrendered to superior numbers.[3] The second expedition under Hardy, who

[1] Tone's son writes in his father's *Journal*: "General Kilmaine was left in command of the disorganised relics of the Army of England, from which all the best troops were withdrawn. That officer, an Irishman by birth and one of the bravest Generals of the Army of Italy, whose cavalry he commanded in the preceding campaign, was, from the shattered state of his health, unfit to conduct any active enterprise."

[2] On St. Patrick's Day 1798 Kilmaine was the principal guest at an Irish banquet in Paris. Many notable Irishmen were present, such as Colonel Richard O'Shee and Colonel Thomas Blackwell. Nápper Tandy presided on the occasion and had Kilmaine on his right and the Revolutionary apostle, Thomas Paine, on his left hand. Many patriotic speeches were delivered and the toast of *The Irish Republic* was drunk with much enthusiasm.

[3] On arrival at Killala Humbert issued a proclamation addressed to the Irish people. Copies of it were scattered through the country. In that bitterly anti-Irish book, *The Irish Rebellion in* 1798 (W. H. Maxwell), the author states that, besides Humbert's, copies of another proclamation, signed by General Kilmaine,

was accompanied by Wolfe Tone, set out from Brest on 14 September. Like Tone, Kilmaine was convinced of the comparative futility of sending these small forces, and he now endeavoured to persuade the French government to follow up the smaller expeditions with a larger one. Offering his services as Commander of the latter, he asked for sufficient troops " to ensure the independence of Ireland." In a letter to the Directory he wrote [1] :—

> It is not yet too late to succeed there, but it is necessary to employ as leader of the enterprise a man who, on account of the dearth of resources, will be most effective with the least means. I am convinced that I am risking nothing in confidentially assuring you that I am the most likely General of the Republic to be successful there. By consulting the Irishmen who are in Paris, the Directory can satisfy itself that my name would suffice to rally round me in Ireland a very large number of the friends of Liberty and Independence, particularly in the provinces of Connacht and Leinster.

The Directory seemed to become enthusiastic regarding Kilmaine's proposal, and preparations were hurried on with feverish haste. Even the news of Humbert's surrender did not stop them. But when the report arrived on the 19 October that Hardy's force was captured at Lough Swilly there was extreme disappointment and the new project was given up by the Directory.

The decision shattered Kilmaine's dream of helping to achieve the independence of his native country. His despondency was accentuated by the news of Wolfe Tone's tragic end. The latter was an Adjutant-General in the *Armée d'Angleterre* of which Kilmaine, as we have seen, had in 1798 become the Commander-in-Chief. At its headquarters in Rouen they had frequent conversations regarding Ireland and shared each other's hopes and disappointments during the vicissitudes of

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were scattered at the same time. The sentiments of this proclamation, as given by the author of the book, show that the document was concocted by the English authorities at the time in order to bring Kilmaine (whose arrival in Ireland was expected) into disrepute among his fellow-countrymen.

[1] *Arch. de la Guerre* (*Armée d'Angleterre*).

that year. On hearing of Tone's arrest, Kilmaine wrote to the French government requesting that his release should be at once demanded; and that, in the event of refusal, hostages of equal rank from the British military prisoners then in France should be held for the safety of this officer of the French Republic. His letter ran:—

Headquarters at Rouen
27th Brumaire, 7th Year of the Republic

Citizen President

From the assurances which the Executive Directory has given, that Adjutant-General Smith, taken on board the Hoche, shall be claimed in a peremptory manner, it would be superfluous in me to request your interference a second time. But, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in which he served with such distinction, I consider myself as in duty bound to acquaint the Directory more particularly with the merits of that officer. His real name is Tone; that of Smith was assumed to conceal from the English Government his residence in France and to spare his family in Ireland those persecutions which would infallibly have been inflicted upon them. Obliged, as he had been one of the most zealous and respectable apostles of the cause of liberty in his country, to seek a refuge from its tyrants in North America, he was called from thence, on the demand of the French Government, to co-operate with General Hoche in his first expedition to Ireland. He was then promoted to the rank of Adjutant-General and served the Republic in that capacity in the Army of England, where he was known to me in the most advantageous light, and had acquired, by his talents and social qualities, the esteem and friendship of all the Generals with whom he served. He was employed in the expedition of General Hardy merely as a French officer and ought to be acknowledged in that character; he had adopted France as his country; his right to be considered as a French prisoner of war is undoubted, and no one can regard him in any other light. I know not what treatment the British Government may reserve for him, but if it were other than such as any French officer in a similar station has a claim to expect, I am clearly of opinion that the Directory should designate some British prisoner of superior rank to serve as a hostage and to undergo precisely the same treatment that Adjutant-General Smith may suffer from the British Government. By this measure

you may save to the Republic one of its most distinguished officers ; to liberty one of her most zealous and enlightened defenders, and a father to one of the most interesting families which I have ever known. Health and respect. KILMAINE

The appeal of his superior officer to save Tone's life was, however, strangely ignored by the French government. After the death of the Irish patriot, Kilmaine, who had no children, offered to adopt his two sons, but their mother refused to entertain the generous proposal. He then successfully used his influence to have them educated by the French nation and, in various ways, helped to lessen the tragedy that had fallen on the family of his friend. Years afterwards the many kindnesses towards them of the distinguished Franco-Irish officer were acknowledged by Tone's son, who described him as " our staunch friend " during the trying period.

Kilmaine's health, which had never been robust, was seriously affected by his strenuous labours in the Italian campaign of 1796 and 1797. In addition, the onerous duties of Commander-in-Chief during 1798, the disappointments caused by the failure of the Irish expeditions, domestic griefs, too, all still further enfeebled his delicate constitution. In December 1798 he wrote to the Minister of War from his headquarters at Rouen : " I was hoping that the attack of Rheumatic Gout, from which I am suffering, would be a mere temporary one, but here I am lying on my back for more than twenty days, helpless in every limb. I am in the very same condition in which you saw me three years ago in the Riviera at Genoa. My doctor tells me positively that he believes it will be five or six weeks before I shall be able to walk even with the aid of crutches." He recovered somewhat, however, from this illness and was, early in the year 1799, appointed Commander of the Army of Switzerland which was destined for the conquest of that country. He soon fell gravely ill again and was compelled to resign from active duties. Taken by slow stages to his home in Paris, he

was attended there by an intimate friend—Dr. Edmund St. Ledger, a notable Irish physician then practising his profession at Paris. Specialists were called in consultation later, but the old illness, complicated by dysentery, refused to react to any treatment. A visit to Vichy was proposed, but he was too weak to undertake the journey. Suffering much pain, he grew steadily worse, and on the 11 December 1799 the great Irish soldier died in the arms of his aide-de-camp, d'Arbois de Jubainville. He was in the forty-eighth year of his life.

All the officers then in Paris assisted at the obsequies. General Kellermann, a son of one of the great French commanders of the day, was chosen to deliver an oration over the dead soldier and so give expression to the loss which had befallen the Republic. He requested to be relieved of the duty placed upon him, saying: "How shall I, who am but a soldier, speak worthily of this brave man?" "You will tell," was the reply, "of what he did and of what he taught others to do."[1]

RICHARD HAYES

[1] General Count Montholon, who was Napoleon's aide-de-camp during the Italian campaign and who shared the exile of his chief at St. Helena, wrote:—"General Kilmaine was a superb cavalry officer, with coolness and vision. He rendered splendid services to the army, of which he was, notwithstanding his delicate constitution, one of the outstanding officers. He possessed a masterly insight into the Austrian forces. . . ."

Captain Landrieux, who played a notable part in the Revolutionary wars and who was Kilmaine's aide-de-camp during the Italian campaign, also wrote in his *Memoirs*:—"General Kilmaine was Irish and, though very reserved, was an exceptionally fearless soldier, who was universally respected for his high character and estimable qualities. He was the only officer in whom Napoleon ever placed complete confidence. He was capable of the greatest things. His military genius was more profound than even that of the great Commander-in-Chief, but he did not possess the latter's vivacity and he would consider it criminal to hold that brilliant man's views. Kilmaine had humanity, honesty and little or no egotism. He was not ambitious. At first acquaintance one was somewhat prejudiced against him on account of his extreme reserve, and Bonaparte, who had not time to understand his character, took some little time to show his appreciation for this illustrious man".

THOMAS DONGAN: SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

Irish-Catholic Governor of New York, 1683–1688

BY REV. P. W. BROWNE, D.D., PH.D.
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CERTAIN historians seem to forget—consciously or unconsciously—the achievements of distinguished Catholic Irishmen to whom America is so much indebted, and the text books used in Public Schools often "damn them with faint praise." This is especially true of Thomas Dongan. Hence we should not wonder that tens of thousands, perhaps, within the borders of the Empire State (New York) know little of the most distinguished of one of its early Governors—Thomas Dongan. Occasionally one reads a tribute like this: "He (Dongan) was a man of integrity, moderation, and gentle manners, and though a professed Papist, may be reckoned among our best governors; he surpassed all his predecessors in a due attention to our affairs with the Indians, by whom he was highly esteemed." [1]

Youngest son of Sir John Dongan, the future Governor of New York was born at the manor-house of Castletown, Kildrought (Celbridge), Kildare, in 1634: the family from which he sprang seem to have held places of prominence in Ireland for several centuries. Thomas Dongan's mother was a Talbot (of Malahide?) and his maternal uncles were Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin (1673-1679), and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, who was lord-deputy of Ireland during the reign of James II. Thomas was kin to the Calverts on the maternal side; and it is a remarkable coincidence that he and Cecilius Calvert (Lord Baltimore) should have introduced religious toleration into two English-American Colonies, the former in New

[1] Smith, *History of New York*, vol. i, p. 66 (Albany, 1814).

York and the latter in Maryland. Shortly after the beheading of Charles I (at Whitehall, January 30, 1649), Sir John Dongan and his family, being ardent adherents to the cause of the House of Stuart, fled from Ireland and found a refuge in France. Thomas obtained a commission in the army, rose to a colonelcy, and distinguished himself during the campaigns of the great Turenne.

Thomas Dongan was recalled to England after the first Treaty of Nimeguen (July 11, 1678); and soon after his return he was named by Charles II as officer in command of an army being raised for service in Flanders. Dongan did not go to Flanders, however, but accepted an appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier under Lord Inchiquin. Tangier had become an appanage of the British Crown as part of the dowry received from Alfonso V of Portugal on the occasion of the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza. Tangier was an important post, and England spent large sums in fortifying it. But despite this, Tangier fell to the Moors in 1684. Dongan spent two years there, and "found his expenses greater than his income." After retiring from Tangier, he went to Ireland and subsequently to London, "where he became popular in court and social circles." Whilst there he received the appointment as "Governor of the Duke's Province of New York."

This territory had been granted by Charles II to his brother James, Duke of York, in 1664, after it was wrested from the Dutch, by whom it had been named New Netherland. Its capital, New Amsterdam, was re-named New York after it had been taken by the English in 1664: at the time it had a population of some 1,500 souls. Its national complexion remained unchanged for many decades. New York was recaptured by the Dutch on August 9, 1673, but was retaken by the British on November 10, 1674. It did not become definitely a British possession, however, until the ratification of the Treaty of Westminster, when Charles II "again conveyed to his brother

James, Duke of York, the territories he had held before, and granted him anew the absolute powers of government he had formerly enjoyed over British subjects, with the like additional authority over 'any other person or persons' inhabiting his province. . . . . The new patent did not . . . 'recite and confirm the former' (as has been erroneously stated). . . . . It read as if no previous English patent had ever existed. . . . . As his colonial lieutenant and deputy, the Duke, almost necessarily, appointed Major Edmund Andros, whom the King had directed in the previous March to receive New Netherland from the Dutch." [1]

The affairs of the Province were apparently conducted with little regard for the welfare of the people. It yielded little revenue, and the Duke of York suffered serious financial losses. In 1680 the Province was on the verge of bankruptcy; and to intensify the seriousness of the situation, the inhabitants, both Dutch and English, were regularly at odds. Both nationalities complained that they were being subjected to unwarranted taxes, and insisted that they be given a voice in the administration of affairs. An added source of grievance throughout the Province came from persistent encroachments on its boundaries by the French, and also from British colonists in Connecticut and in Pennsylvania.

It had long been realized by the Duke of York that his Province in America needed better administration; for conditions there could not remain in such a parlous condition as they had been since it came into his possession: he needed a representative there who should protect his interests, save the Province from bankruptcy, and rehabilitate it financially. He chose Thomas Dongan, as he was known not only as a courageous soldier, but also as a skilled diplomat. Dongan had other qualifications: he was familiar with the temperament of the two nationalities—Dutch and English—which at the time were such

[1] Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, vol. ii., ch. 5-6 (New York, 1871).

disquieting factors in New York. Dongan was commissioned Governor of the "Duke's Province" in September 1682, but he did not take up his duties there until the following year.

The new Governor arrived at Nantucket on August 10, 1683, by the *Countess of Warwick*. Fifteen days later he and his retinue entered the port of New York amid vociferous plaudits from the inhabitants; for it had been noised abroad that the new Governor "had come empowered by the Duke of York to speedily adjust the difficulties that racked the Province. On the day following arrival the Governor assisted at Mass within the walls of Fort James, which was offered by Father Harvey, S.J., who had accompanied Dongan from London." Some days later Dongan held a session of his councillors at the Fort, and soon afterwards issued a call for the freeholders of New York, Long Island, Esopus, Albany, and Martha's Vineyard to choose representatives who should present themselves at an early date "to consider what laws are fit to be made and established for the good weal and government of the said colony and its dependencies and all the inhabitants thereof." The call for the Assembly was received everywhere with enthusiastic acclaim except on the eastern end of Long Island, where it was regarded by the residents with suspicion, "as it was considered some sort of a popish plot." [1]. The situation facing Governor Dongan, from a religious standpoint, may be inferred from a report sent soon after arrival to the Proprietor, the Duke of York: "Here be not many of the Church of England; few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quakers; preachers, men and especially women; Anti-Sabbatarians; some Anabaptists; some Independents; some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all."

The Assembly, convened on October 17 and 30, 1683, enacted a "Charter of Liberties" which conferred upon

[1] Harper-Bennett, *Catholic Footprints in old New York*, p. 88 (New York, 1909).

the members of the Assembly rights and privileges making them a body coequal to and independent of the British Parliament; established town, county, and general courts of justice; passed acts enunciating certain constitutional liberties—for example, no taxation without representation; taxes to be levied only by the people met in general assembly; right of suffrage; no quartering of soldiers without popular consent; elections to be decided by a majority of votes. Perhaps the most significant feature of the "Charter of Liberties" was the declaration that "no person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall, at any time, be in any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion on matters of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the Province; but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time and at all times, freely have and fully enjoy his or their judgements or consciences in matters of religion throughout all the Province—they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others."

Certain historians write disparagingly regarding the Assembly convened by Governor Dongan. Says Bayley: "Bancroft (*History of the United States*, vol. ii, p. 414) and others allude rather slightingly to the Assembly . . . . ., as if it promised much more than it ever performed. Yet, the very *fact* of such an Assembly is something. Their 'Charter of Liberties' was a good deal in advance of the 'Bill of Rights,' which came after it. Several of the laws passed had an important influence on the future welfare of the colony. The late Court of Chancery originated with this Assembly. Nothing but prejudice kept its acts from forming part of the collected laws of the colony." [1] Governor Dongan signed the "Charter

[1] *Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York.* Second ed., p. 36, footnote.

of Liberties" on October 30, 1683, and it was proclaimed on the following day at the Stadt Huys (City Hall). It was then forwarded to James II (the former Duke of York), who did not accept it in its entirety. But he did approve its provisions for religious toleration, and went even further, when, in May 1686, he extended religious toleration not only to Christians, but 'to all persons of what religion soever.'

The significance of the provision for religious toleration in the Dongan Charter lay in the fact that it was made a written law; as a constitutional provision, it placed freedom of worship on a firmer basis than the mere benevolence of a governor. Such concessions were always of a temporary nature. Kennedy says: "Elsewhere in the colonies, even in New York itself, religious toleration had been granted by Proprietors and Governors; but such toleration was revocable at the will of the grantor. . . . . An Irish Catholic Governor, acting for a Catholic Proprietor, in colonial times, gives its first legal existence to the American spirit of religious liberty which is enshrined in the Constitution of the United States." [1]

It has been asked often: "Why was Dongan's Charter not accepted in its entirety by James II?" Possibly because Charles II had abolished the Charter of New England, as it gave too much liberty to its inhabitants in the matter of taxation. This much is certain: the Charter of Pennsylvania distinctly admits the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to tax the colonies. The question of taxation was a matter of serious discontent in all the colonies; and it is a matter of history that the Revolution which sundered the ties which bound the original Thirteen Colonies to Great Britain arose from the fact that colonials refused to be taxed by the British Parliament unless they had a voice in the enactment of burdensome imposts—or, as the shibboleth went "No taxation without representation."

[1] Kennedy, *Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York (1682–1688)*, p. 67 (Washington, 1930).

Though giving constant attention to local affairs, Governor Dongan was conserving intact the domain of his royal master; he adjusted intercolonial boundary-difficulties that had long existed with the colonies of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, and made determined and vigorous efforts to settle the century-old feud with New France (Canada) as to jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the Indians in the northern section of the Province of New York. But in this Dongan was hampered by the interference of King James, whose dilatory tactics are matters of history. "A complaint against Dongan from the French King induced poor distracted James, surrounded as he was by traitors and under life-long obligations to Louis XIV, to agree to a proposal forbidding, until January 1, 1689, any French or English commander to commit acts of hostility against the territories of either sovereign!" [1]. But Dongan, who understood Gallic duplicity, pursued what he deemed the correct course in connection with the administration of his Province, and seemingly gave a deaf ear to ominous rumblings that came from across the water. James would have been duped, much to England's loss, had not Governor Dongan shown the greatest vigour and sagacity in foiling the schemes of the French King; for he realized that it was of the utmost importance to insist upon England's claim to the territory occupied by the Five Nations or Iroquois Confederacy. The Confederacy embraced the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onandagas, whose cantons were located in the north-western section of the Province of New York. Desirous to placate these Indians and gain their friendship, Dongan, in company with Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, journeyed to Albany, met in council delegates from the Five Nations, and as a result of the "pow-wow" ingratiated himself with the Redmen. They promised "to bury the hatchet," and as proof of their sincerity they presented Dongan with two

[1] Harper-Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

dressed deer skins on which was inscribed the tribal declaration of their submission to "the Grand Sachem of England," and they requested him to send these skins "across the big water" to the Grand Sachem "in order that he should write on them and put upon them his great red seal." As the Iroquois held the balance of power between France and England in the territory abutting on Lakes Erie and Ontario, the signing of a treaty with them was a decisive victory for Dongan. If the Iroquois came under the domination of the Governor of New France, the peltry trade—a most important asset—would be diverted to the St. Lawrence and, in consequence, the Province of New York would suffer great financial loss.

As a result of the grievances existing between Quebec and New York there ensued an acrimonious controversy between Dongan and Denonville, Governor of New France, and in September 1684, Denonville openly accused Dongan of inciting the Iroquois to make war on the French, of harbouring French deserters, and of frustrating the work of the missionaries who laboured in the Iroquois cantons. Denonville's honesty of purpose has often been questioned, and his sole ambition seems to have been the aggrandizement of France regardless of the means by which it was accomplished. His sympathy towards the missionaries was motivated largely by the spirit of nationalism, and those devoted men, unwittingly perhaps, became identified with Gallic pretensions. Dongan resented the imputation that he had hampered the great work being carried on by the Jesuits in the cantons; and in a letter to Denonville, December 1, 1686, says: "The Missionary Fathers, if they please to do me justice, can give you an account of how careful I have been to serve them. I have ordered our Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence against them and have written to the King my master, who hath as much zeal as any prince living to propagate the Christian faith, and assure him how necessary it is to

send hither some Fathers to preach the Gospel to the natives allied to us." [1].

Dongan's Catholicism is evidenced by the fact that he brought with him to America Father Harvey, S.J.; and that, during his *régime* in New York, two other Jesuits, Fathers Gage and Harrison, were engaged in religious and educational work in the metropolis. "It was no doubt under their supervision that the school was opened to which Leisler refers in his letter to the Governor at Boston (August, 1689) when he says: 'I have formerly (formally ?) informed your Honr. that Coll. Dongan, in his time, did erect a Jesuite colledge upon cullour to learn Latine to the judges West—Mr. Graham, Judge Palmer and John Tudor did contribute their sones for some time, but no boddy imitating them, the colledge vanished.'" [2]. For the maintenance of this college Governor Dongan requested King James to give a tract of land, known as "King's Farm," which formed part of the estate attached to the Governor's residence in New York. James refused to grant Dongan's request, stating that he "would not have the Governors deprived of their conveniences." In 1703 this tract was given to Trinity Episcopal Church Corporation of New York by Queen Anne.[3]

The development of the metropolis of the Province was initiated by Governor Dongan. He transformed a straggling Dutch settlement into the nucleus of a city which ranks to-day as the greatest commercial mart in the world. "New York with its five boroughs and millions of inhabitants is a mighty metropolis to-day, but when Dongan reached it in 1683, it embraced but the tip of Manhattan Island . . . . . Wolves and bears roamed the

[1] *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, vol. ii., p. 934 (Albany, 1901-1918).

[2] O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 23, and vol. iii., p. 110 (Albany, 1849–51).

[3] Booth, *History of the City of New York*, vol. i, p. 252 (New York, 1867). This parcel of land, located on the west side of Broadway, between the present Fulton and Chambers Streets, is now one of the most valuable sections of New York City: recently its valuation was set at $25,000,000!

section which is now (known as) the Bowery, and as late as August 1, 1685, the Governor and Council issued 'a license to the inhabitants of the island of Manhatons to hunt and destroy wolves thereon, on Thursday next'." [1] Perhaps the greatest administrative act of Governor Dongan was the inspiration (and the framing) of the charter for the city, which bears the name "Dongan Charter," and which "has continued to be the basis of the municipal laws, rights, privileges, public property, and franchises of New York City. It was worded with care, and shows that those who framed it were possessed of a broad and enlightened sense of the sanctity of corporate and private rights." [2].

Despite the great services Dongan had rendered, he was ignominiously recalled from the governorship of New York by James II and Edmund Andros was appointed in his stead: New York had ceased to be an independent Province and was united to the Dominion of New England. This singular affair may be partially explained by the machinations of Penn, the Jersey Proprietors, and the French King. All these men had reasons to wish Dongan removed from his administration, and all of them were intimate friends of James II—who, a believer in royal absolutism, would not be desirous to retain in America one who had been such an ardent champion of popular rights as Dongan had been. Having graciously passed over the government of the Province of New York to Andros, Dongan went into retirement and passed the year following, partly at Hempstead (Long Island) and partly on his estate, "Cassiltowne," on Staten Island.

A year later James II was deposed. The Revolution in England, which placed William and Mary on the throne, had an echo in the colonies, particularly in the Dominion of New England, of which New York now formed a part.

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[1] *Cal. N. Y. Historical Mss.* 11, 138 (Albany, 1926).

[2] Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York*, vol. i, p. 426 (New York, 1892).

The government of New York was then in the hands of Nicholson, who ruled as deputy for Andros. Nicholson hesitated to proclaim the new sovereigns, and his hesitation had disastrous results. Jacob Leisler, a New York merchant of German birth, to whom Dongan had been especially generous, raised the banner of revolt and " seized the government of New York in the name of the new English sovereigns and Protestantism in May 1689, and within three months he assumed the title of Commander-in-Chief. Then followed an attempt to destroy the achievements of Dongan. Leisler declared that whatsoever was acted by a Papist Governor or made under his authority was *ipso facto* null and void and of no effect in law." All commissions held under Dongan were revoked (it is a significant fact that there were only *three* Catholic officials in New York City at the time). Leisler persistently clamoured for " the security of the Protestant religion," and appealed to his followers " to resist the designs of the wicked arbitrarie power exercissed by our Late popish governour Coll: Dongan & severall of his wicked Creaturs and Pensionaries."

" Forced to flee from the bigotry of those to whom he had shown nothing but the broadest tolerance," Dongan was obliged to take refuge outside the boundaries of the Province which he had so wisely governed during his term of office. Roberts well describes the situation when he states: " Those were evil times which chose such a man for a victim, heaped false charges upon him, and drove him, even temporarily, from the rural home where he was illustrating the modest virtues of a private person." [1] There was nothing for him but to leave America. The exact date of his departure is not known; but he arrived in London sometime in 1691, only to find that the prospects awaiting him in England were not much brighter than those from which he had fled. His

[1] *The Planting and Growth of the Empire State*, vol. i, p. 197 (Boston and New York, 1887).

ancestral estates in Ireland had passed to strangers, because the Dongan family had been loyal to the House of Stuart. His brother William, Earl of Limerick, died in France in 1698, and since William's only son, Walter, had been killed at the Battle of the Boyne, the former Governor of New York became Earl of Limerick—an empty title without resources. Thomas Dongan spent his declining years in unsuccessful attempts to regain the family estates and to collect the debts due to him by the Crown. His only means of frugal support came from the proceeds of the sale of his American properties. He died in London on December 14, 1715, poor and obscure, at the age of 81. His will, dated July 1713, provided for funeral expenses not to exceed one hundred pounds. He was buried in St. Pancras Churchyard and his grave is marked with a simple tombstone bearing the inscription: *The Right Honourable Thomas Dongan, Earl of Limerick*, died December 14, 1715, aged 81 years. *Requiescat in Pace.* Amen.

Thomas Dongan, "one of the greatest constructive statesmen ever sent out by England for the government of her American possessions," was born out of due time. His efforts to establish religious and political freedom were neither understood nor appreciated. His attempt to establish a *régime* of honest government was followed by a period of religious bigotry and political despotism; but ultimately, the ideals championed by him triumphed in America. One writer admirably sums up the story of Dongan's achievements when he says: "Dongan's celebrated 'Charter of Liberty' did not die when revoked; it simply slept. It was like a seed planted; although hidden, it worked its purpose in nature and blossomed forth, when fully ripe, a perennial oak in the Constitution of the United States." [1]

To few men in America is the *dictum* (ascribed by Donatus to Virgil)—*sic vos non vobis*—more applicable

[1] Danaher, *Thomas Dongan, Second Earl of Limerick*, p. 55 (Albany, 1889).

than to Thomas Dongan, " man of courage, able diplomat, statesman of prudence and remarkable foresight." For more than two centuries New York State had forgotten the man who had such a large share in initiating its commercial and political development; and it was not until 1907 that the Hon. James J. Hoey introduced into the New York Legislature a bill for the appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars to erect a fitting monument to Governor Dongan in New York City. The bill passed both houses; but, as it involved city funds, the Mayor of the City, G. B. McClellan, *vetoed it on the ground of economy!* Four years later the Columbian Assembly, Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus, erected a memorial tablet to Dongan's memory in St. Peter's—the oldest Catholic Church in New York City, with the following inscription :—

In Memory of Thomas Dongan
Born 1634; Died 1715
Earl of Limerick, General in the Armies of England and France
Irish Patriot and Devoted Catholic
Governor of New York (1683-1688)
Father of the First Representative Assembly
And the Charter of Rights and Privileges
Granting Popular Government, Religious Toleration, Trial by Jury
Immunity from Martial Law, Freedom from Arbitrary Arrest
Framer of the First City Charters for Albany and New York
Founder of Latin School under Catholic Auspices and Teachers
This Tablet
Erected by the Columbian Assembly
Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus
Oct. 8th, 1911

P. W. Browne

THE BELGIAN CONGO

BY JOSEPH O'MARA, S.J.

ON 16 October 1869, a telegram arrived at Madrid for Henry M. Stanley. Sent by James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the *New York Herald*, it read: "Come Paris important business." That telegram was the first step in the foundation of the Belgian Congo. Its immediate effect was to send Stanley in search of Livingstone, a search which lasted until November 10, 1871, and ended in the little village of Oudjiji to the west of Tanganyika. Stanley's subsequent adventures and expeditions in equatorial Africa are well known. At the time Europe was high with excitement at the accounts of his doings there. A new mysterious continent had been opened and imaginations were fully occupied with castle-building. There was one man to whom these reports were of an especial interest: he was Leopold II of Belgium, and it is with him that we begin the history proper of the Belgian Congo.

Leopold II was a man of extraordinary energy and, what was still more to his credit and profit, had a genius for grasping any opportunity for political betterment that arose. Such an opportunity presented itself to him now, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. His first step was an astute one: it was to found a *Geographical Conference* at Brussels to study the question of Central Africa. This was in the year 1876. In his opening speech, on September 12, the King outlined the humanitarian and scientific aims of the association; the word *colonisation* was not breathed. This Conference issued in the formation of an *International African Association*, comprising an *International Commission*, an *Executive Committee* and *National Committees*. Their object was to forward the

study of the vast southern continent. Things moved fast after that. In June 1877 the *International Commission* decided to send an expedition into equatorial Africa by way of the Indian Ocean. Another organisation, the *Belgian National Committee*, engaged explorers to found settlements in the Congo basin. Finally, and most important point of all, in January 1878 Stanley arrived back from Africa. He was met at Marseilles by two delegates of the King of the Belgians, and shortly afterwards he saw the King himself, who asked him to return to Africa and make treaties with the native chiefs. Leopold, as may be seen, was not content to restrict his interest in the Congo to a purely scientific one: he wished to assume a right of priority over the newly discovered territory. To this end, therefore, he founded in November 1878 the *Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo*, and in February of the following year Stanley started off again across the Atlantic at the head of a new expedition. So much for the first phase in the history of the Belgian Congo.

Needless to say, however, the progress of the enterprise was not all plain sailing for Leopold. He had difficulties both at home and abroad. While to him his dream seemed to be on the sure road to realisation, the Belgian public was anything but satisfied. There was a vague, ill-defined hostility to a procedure that looked nothing better than a mad leap in the dark. The *Bulletin de Géographie* got quite indignant and put its readers on their guard against these " rêves généreux." The fact that Leopold was heart and soul in the enterprise, that he had in a very few years spent eleven million francs of his private fortune and was more than ready to go on spending money on the Congo, did little or nothing to appease the public discontent. The King was ruining himself for some impossible Utopia, and there was a general shaking of heads and wagging of tongues which, to say the least of it, was discouraging. It would have discouraged anyone less determined than

Leopold : indeed he was discouraged, but he worked on, and in the end his very troubles were the cause of his success. His difficulties abroad won him back the sympathies of his people : the opposition of other European Powers soldered the break between King and subjects.

During the five years following Stanley's departure to the Congo in 1879 numerous explorers from Belgium were drawn by the lure of the " Black Indies." Before the end of that year Karema had been founded by Cambier ; 1881 saw the rise of Vivi and Leopoldville. Through the help of such men as Popelin, Storms, Ramaekers and de Becker, Leopold's hold on the Congo was becoming firmer and firmer. A hundred and fifty treaties had been signed with the native chiefs, forty stations had been started, while five steamers had already been launched on the Congo River. Such national activity had its repercussions in the international sphere. The *National Committees* were becoming more and more national and particular. The German Committee, for instance, changed its name to the *German Colonial Society for Africa.* Individual action was the order of the day. Even the *International African Association* lost that general character which had been its very essence ; it was henceforth called the *International Congo Association.* Philanthropy had taken off the mask.

Leopold's next step, therefore, was to secure from the other European Powers the recognition of his primary rights over the Congo. This was no easy matter, as national jealousy was anything but dormant. Portugal, claiming to have discovered and occupied the coast-line, haggled for the possession of the estuary of the Congo River. In this she was supported by England, with whom she signed a treaty recognising her rights to the occupation of the Lower Congo. Leopold, however, was not completely without allies : France was favourable, and Bismarck was not going to lose an opportunity to put a spoke in England's wheel. In 1884 an *International*

Conference was convened at Berlin to settle once and for all the ever-recurring problems on the Congo issue. Little by little the difficulties were smoothed away, and finally Leopold had the satisfaction of seeing fourteen Powers give their approval to his colonising endeavours.

Even yet, however, his troubles were not at an end : there were still two obstacles to be surmounted—the revolt of the Arab chiefs and the *Congo Reform Association.* The former was the occasion for the precise definition of the limits of Leopold's Congo domain. For one short moment the King had the vision of a vast empire, comprising Egypt and the Soudan. In 1896 his forces collaborated with Kitchener against the Mahdi for the recovery of Khartoum ; 1897 saw his flag planted on the walls of Redjah. But his dream was short-lived. England was opposed to his ambitions, and he had to abandon Bahr-el-Ghazal. France, too, supported Savorgnan de Brazza, who blocked the approach up the river to Stanley Pool. There was nothing for it but to retire with as much grace as possible.

Nevertheless, this check to his advancement did not worry Leopold as much as did the anti-Congo campaign which started in England. It is not necessary to go into the motives which urged the British Government to set up the *Congo Reform Association.* They were almost entirely political and had as their ultimate aim to hamper, indeed to destroy, Leopold's efforts for the colonisation of the Congo. The business of the Association was simple : to send out inquiry expeditions to the Congo and to draw up reports on the condition of the natives under the Belgian occupation. The principal accusation brought forward in these reports was that of the iniquitous exploitation of the natives in the rubber trade. The tales of the brutality of the Belgian settlers were hair-raising, and certainly created all the anti-Belgian feeling that England could have desired. Of the truth of the assertions, of the number of cases in which the main accusation

was verified it is difficult to give a full or satisfactory account. That there were instances of maltreatment is beyond a doubt: indeed, the absence of all brutality on the part of the settlers would constitute a phenomenon without parallel in the history of colonisation. At any rate this is not the place to discuss such a question. What concerns us is the effect of this anti-Belgian campaign on the history of the Congo. Its influence was immediate and profound. In June 1904 a report, drawn up by Sir Roger Casement, who had just returned from the Congo, where he had been acting in the interests of the *Congo Reform Association*, roused a violent discussion in the English Parliament and was communicated to the other European Powers. In face of these international attacks Leopold decided to convene a *Commission of Enquiry*, which would study the state of affairs in Africa. The Commission was called together on July 23, 1904. In the October of the following year it returned from its Congo expedition and presented its report to the King. It was admitted that abuses might have crept in—though only on a small scale—and that certain modifications were desirable. However, the general tenor of the accusations on the part of the European Powers was manifestly exaggerated. In other words, the Commission approved Leopold's policy as a whole, even though it thought fit to point out certain remedies that might be applied to existing abuses. The fight continued for a year or so; but in 1906 Leopold considered that it was high time for him to take the final step in the definitive acquisition of the Congo. Now at last he had his subjects on his side. Opposition had stirred the public mind from apathy, had levelled out differences, and had left Leopold a clear field for the marshalling of his forces. It was the moment for him to show his hand.

In order to understand this last stage in the history of the Congo, it is necessary to go back a few years. From what has gone before it is evident that, in the early days

of the Congo colonisation, the King and the people were not of one mind. One of the main causes of the disagreement was the last will and testament of Leopold. On August 2, 1889, Leopold had drawn up a will by which he left the Congo, of which he was the absolute sovereign, to Belgium. In return he demanded a sum of twenty-five million francs, five millions of which were to be paid over immediately, the other twenty in instalments of two million francs for ten years. After much opposition and a heated debate in the Chambre des Députés, the sum was voted—but not until July, 1890. It should be noted, in parenthesis, that this sum was never intended by Leopold nor understood by the Belgian people as the *price* of the Congo. Even after the money had been handed over the Congo remained the sole property of the King until his death. The twenty-five million were merely an expression of Belgium's thanks for Leopold's princely legacy.

In the following years, up till 1906, the history of the Congo, as we have seen, was a chequered one. Then on June 3rd of that year the King added a codicil to his will. By the terms of this clause the King left, after his death, the Congo in the hands of the Belgian people as an inalienable possession; but they were to respect all its rights as an *independent state.* Light is thrown on the mind of the King by a letter which he addressed to his Ministers of State. Both on account of its contents and its tone, this letter is worth quoting in part. " The Congo has been and could only have been a personal work. Now, there is no more legitimate or respectable a right than the right of an author over his own work, the fruit of his labour. . . . I do not share my rights over the Congo; they are the fruit of my labours and of my largess. You must never cease to publish them abroad; for it is they and they alone that have rendered possible and legitimate this my legacy to Belgium. These rights must be proclaimed aloud; for, apart from those which derive from me, Belgium possesses no others over the Congo. If I

am careful not to endanger my rights, it is through patriotism and because, without them, Belgium would be deprived absolutely of all title." These words are clear enough, and the conduct of Leopold did not give them the lie. He thought out a scheme, called the *Crown Domain*, by which a civil body, personifying the Domain, was to be established in the Congo. This body would possess a patrimony separate from that of the State domain, and its revenues would be at the entire and free disposition of the King. By this system Leopold reserved to himself a very important means of control in the economic development of the Congo. He thought it only right that he should receive some return for the magnificent gift which he was presenting to Belgium. Such a pretention, however, on the part of the King was not welcomed with open arms by the Belgian Parliament. The hostility, indeed, was so violent that the King had to assure the government that his plan was only one of recommendation. The idea of the Ministers of State was that the Congo should be a colony without any privileges and should come directly under the laws of Belgium, being administered by the King, that is to say, by the ministry in power at the time. Leopold, although entirely against such a project, had to yield in the end. The hostile attitude of foreign powers to the existing form of rule in the Congo forced the King to acquiesce in the government's plan of immediate and complete annexation. On August 20, 1908, the Bill for the definite annexation of the Congo was passed by 83 votes to 54. The blue flag of Redjah gave place to the Belgian colours.

The Belgian Congo was born. The mother-country had had a long and painful travail, but her offspring seemed all the more vigorous for that. Certainly her labours and hardships have been repaid a hundredfold. In the Congo of the present day is found an ample justification for Leopold's political intuition of sixty odd years ago. Hopes, in fact, have been surpassed: what was

originally—and is still in theory—only a simple annex, has become part and parcel of the main political body to such an extent that the latter is now unthinkable without its colony. A kind of metaphysical anomaly is witnessed in which the accessory is to be confounded with the principal. A few words, then, in conclusion on the advantages derived to-day by Belgium from her colony: not that the point will be treated fully here—just the bare outline of a picture that can very easily be filled in and shaded.

The Congo is immensely rich in minerals, and its extractive industries are flourishing. As regards mining, the principal sources of revenue for Belgium are coal, diamonds, radium, gold, tin and copper. At present both coal and copper mines are giving about 200,000 tons a year each. The coal return, however, is not yet of sufficient quantity to help the mother-country very materially in the enormous development of industry at home. Most of the coal mined in the Congo is used on the spot for the other industries which have sprung up there. As for diamonds—well, the famous workshops of Antwerp receive a very considerable part of their raw material from the Congo. With its total of 1,647,700 carats in 1928, the Congo ranked as third among the diamond producing countries of the world. The oxide compound of tin, *cassiterite*, is mined by three companies, and in 1928 brought in a return of 1,107 tons, of which 75 per cent. was pure metal. It would be easy to extend greatly this enumeration: from the merely commercial side there should still be mentioned cotton, coffee, tea, rubber.

But over and above these rather prosaic considerations, there is one aspect of the Congo colony that cannot be overlooked. It is not the equally prosaic question of finding an outlet for surplus population: no, firstly, because it is a very debatable point as to whether Belgium is over-populated, and, secondly, because even if she were, the Congo would not be the place to ease the strain, as the climate there is anything but encouraging

for a European. At the present in the Congo, which is the same size as Europe minus Russia, there are only approximately 18,000 whites, of whom some 12,500 are Belgians. No, the point about the relations between Belgium and the Congo that must be given some notice, however short, is the question of the missions.

The achievement of the Catholic missions in the Congo for a period of some forty years is astounding and a glorious triumph for the Church. This success alone—leaving out of consideration all the material advancement already noted—would justify Belgium's deep interest in her colony. There are sixteen religious institutes and more than twenty congregations of nuns at work in the mission field. The latest statistics available show that the personnel consists of 715 missionary priests, helped by 407 brothers and 824 sisters, while the native contribution to the forces is represented by 21 priests, 36 brothers and 67 sisters. This is a fine army which, with its already considerable and steadily increasing native element, gives assurance of a splendid future for the spread of the Faith. Since the start of mission work in the Congo, about one-tenth of the population have been baptised into the Church, and there are nearly as many catechumens. The number of schools (primary, secondary, professional and normal) is between five and six thousand, while there are four senior and fifteen junior seminaries, containing in all some nine hundred seminarists. Belgium certainly has something of which to be proud.

Yet even now we have not properly assessed—far from it—the value of the Congo to Belgium. The importance of Leopold's legacy cannot be nicely gauged by merely giving statistics of material prosperity and of missionary activity. In the evaluation of what the Congo means to Belgium, there is an element which escapes all handy classification. This element can best be described as an intensification of national pride. Belgium has always been profoundly national: her firm stand in the autumn

of 1914 was the expression of a deep national consciousness which only needed an actuating force to render it explicit. But, for all that, she is modest in her pretensions, and she is still able to regard herself sanely as a small Power. Indeed, it might be reasonably argued that this modesty has in it certain traces of timidity—a timidity which derives, perhaps, from the Belgian's obvious virtue of prudence and levelheadedness. At any rate, there can be no doubt that at the time of the friction between Leopold and his subjects, the people were afraid of what was being thrust upon them. The whole initiative of the move for the annexation of the Congo came, as we have seen, from Leopold and was imposed upon the people from outside. But—there can be no two opinions about it—Leopold was right, and Belgium recognises the fact to-day. The Congo has rid her of a certain narrowness of outlook based on the conservative spirit of the business-minded man, which the Belgian undoubtedly is. The Congo has enlarged Belgium's horizons: she is no longer merely a little buffer-state wedged in between Germany, Holland, France and the English Channel. Completely walled in as she is by great nations, there was some danger that she might lose her individuality; but the Congo has given Belgium a peep over the top of the wall. It is true that there is still a "*minorité pessimiste*," whose scepticism as regards the value of the Congo has grown in the last couple of years owing to the financial crisis: the material and commercial advantages of the Congo are not now so evident, and the business instinct of some experiences a certain frustration. Yet Belgium as a whole has not lost her sense of perspective: the vast majority of her people—that is, of those who think about the question at all—are as deeply convinced as ever of the benefit which a great King conferred on his subjects.

Joseph O'Mara

REVIEWS

Religion

JESUS CHRIST. His Person—His Message—His Credentials. By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. Vol. III. Pp. 523. London : Sheed and Ward. 1934. 15s.

THIS volume, containing Books V and VI and the Indexes covering all three volumes, completes the translation of Père de Grandmaison's great work.[1] Book I was a study of the sources of our knowledge of Christ, Book II a study of the Gospel setting or background, leading to the core of the work, an historical presentation of our Lord's Message (Book III), of His Person (Book IV), and of His works (Book V). The work concludes with a study of the religion which Christ founded as seen in its early developments.

At this date it is no longer necessary to do more than remind the prospective reader of the outstanding qualities of this work—its wide erudition, its fairness, its balance, its delicate weighing of evidence, its perfection of exposition. The author had made himself thoroughly familiar with modern critical literature, French, German and English, centring in the life of Christ. He states in their own words the arguments of liberal and rationalist critics and allows to these their full force. He frequently quotes these writers with approval, gleaning from them all the truth that he can find. He had made comparative religion a life-long study and is therefore able to meet on their own ground the writers who have criticized the Gospel narratives from that standpoint. His wide reading and his critical acumen enable him to detect and expose the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of his opponents. But he does so without bitterness and without unfairness, and he is ready, on occasion, to acknowledge the weakness or exaggeration of arguments put forward by Christian apologists.

There are passages in the book in which every sentence is charged with a significance that can be fully grasped only by those who have studied the subject with a thoroughness approaching that of the author himself. One experiences, in consequence, at times a certain difficulty in appreciating the full force of the argument. This is due not to any defect in the writer's exposition, but to a lack of training or of knowledge on the part of the reader. What Père de Grandmaison says in another context may be applied to readers of his work : " The virtuoso, the true artist, will recognise and correctly read a phrase of Beethoven, while

[1] Vols. I and II were reviewed in STUDIES, June 1932.

musicians of ordinary ability, given the same indications and the same circumstances, will not unreasonably hesitate over its meaning and interpretation." But such hesitation would not be due to any obscurity in the exposition, nor to any excessive intrusion of erudition. On the contrary, Père de Grandmaison has contrived to maintain the clear, even flow of his main text by relegating the discussion of minute or difficult points of erudition to footnotes or to longer notes at the ends of chapters.

The present volume deals with the Works of Christ—*i.e.*, His miracles, His prophecies, and His resurrection, main objects of the assaults of liberal and rationalist criticism and therefore of vital importance in the defence of Christianity. The work is completed by two chapters—The Establishment of the Religion of Jesus Christ and Witnesses to Jesus Christ in History.

A word of grateful commendation is due to the excellence of Mr. Douglas Carter's translation and to the perfection with which the book has been produced. S. J. B.

AD VIROS RELIGIOSOS: Quatorze Sermons d'Adam Scot. Texte établi avec introduction et notes par le R. P. François Petit, de l'ordre de Prémontré. Tongerloo: Librairie Saint Norbert. 1934.

Adam the Scot, or Adam the Carthusian, was a native of Berwickshire, where he was born about the middle of the twelfth century. A few allusions to contemporary politics suggest that he was either of English race, or at the least of strongly English sentiment in his national outlook. But his life's work is closely identified with his native country, and he ranks with his contemporaries, Richard of St. Victor and John of Kelso, as a representative of Scottish mysticism and theology in an age of great mystics and theologians. Scotland had three famous monasteries at this period: the Benedictine Abbey of Kelso, the Cistercian Abbey of Melrose, and the Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh. This last foundation dates from 1152, and must have been quite recent when Adam entered the cloister at some time between the years 1152 and 1177. St. Norbert's sanctity was still a living tradition; and his combination of the monastic and parochial life was still subject to criticism and attack both from the older monastic foundations and the various types of Canons Regular and Secular. Adam the Scot was to become in due course, first a champion of the Premonstratensian ideal, and then a convert to the more austere Carthusian life.

Father Petit, who is himself a Premonstratensian monk of

the Abbey of Mondaye (Calvados), has recounted the little that is now known of Adam's life and education in a scholarly preface to this sumptuous edition of Adam's sermons to his fellow-Premonstratensians. Adam's literary activity is divided sharply into two periods: his earlier Premonstratensian period, which begins some years before 1180; and his later Carthusian period, which begins in 1188 or 1189 and ends with Adam's death in 1213 or 1214. Apart from his sermons, of which two collections are known, Adam is the author of various mystical treatises which entitle him to a high place among the classics of mediaeval mystical theology. His most popular work is a short treatise *De instructione animae*, of which several MSS. are still extant; but Father Petit ranks the treatise *De triplici contemplatione* as Adam's theological and literary masterpiece. His sermons are of special interest to his Premonstratensian brethren, as many of them are directly concerned with the attacks that were made on St. Norbert's foundations within the lifetime of the founder and in the following generation. His fourteen sermons *De ordine habitu et professione canonicorum ordinis Premonstratensis* have been edited in Migne's *Patrologia* (P.L. 198, 439-610). Father Petit's volume contains the *editio princeps* of fourteen later sermons *Ad religiosos*, which contain Adam's teaching on the religious ideals of the Order to which he gave his first allegiance. They were preached between the years 1184 and 1189, when he was still Abbot of Dryburgh.

The Abbot's action in leaving the Premonstratensians for the stricter Carthusian life at Witham was for long a sore point with his former religious brethren, and their dislike of his new vocation is shown in their reluctance to preserve his works in manuscript. The Carthusians, on the other hand, made a practice of anonymity in their writings, and Adam's fame thus suffered an eclipse for many centuries. It is only to-day that he is once more receiving his due as a master of that Augustinian tradition in mysticism and theology which was the inspiring force of so much sanctity and learning in the twelfth century. Adam the Scot, so Father Petit shows convincingly in his preface, was poles asunder from the Aristotelians in Paris who were already transforming the intellectual life of mediaeval Europe. His place is rather with the great theologians of Saint Victor and with St. Bonaventure in the following century: his thought was conservative of tradition, but rich with all the learning and piety of a thousand years.

On a note to page 55 of his preface, Father Petit refers

to a manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin, which contains "quelques sermons d'Adam." Abbott's catalogue has only one reference to Adam: a *sermo Adae Carthusiani in die S. Joannis*, which is bound with other Augustinian texts and extracts in a miscellany of the fifteenth century. A. G.

THE MASS OF THE WESTERN RITES. By the Right Rev. Dom Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B. London: Sands. 1934. Pp. 238. 5s.

I VENTURE to think that the average educated Catholic of thirty years ago would have been puzzled by such a title as that of this book. "Western," he would have said, "so then there are rites, forms of the Mass, other than western? And the plural "Rites." Are there, then, even in the West other ways of saying Mass than that with which we are familiar?" His liturgical education probably consisted in an explanation of the "ceremonies of the Mass"—*i.e.*, of the Roman rite as it is to-day. Most Catholics to-day are at least aware of the existence of Eastern rites and of Mass said or sung in languages other than Latin. But there are still, I think, but few who are familiar with the historical development of the Roman rite or with the other Western rites that once existed side by side with it, but have now fallen into desuetude. On all these matters they will find full information in this little book written by one of the highest authorities on the subject.

Dom Cabrol has already given us a long series of books on the Mass and on kindred subjects—the prayer of the early Christians, liturgical origins, the Roman Missal, the books of the Latin liturgy, and so on. Moreover there have appeared during the past few years a great many books on the Mass. The excellent bibliographies in this book are ample evidence of that. Why then this new work? The author pleads that, in addition to the fact that a book on the Mass was planned to be included in the *Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences religieuses* (to which this work belongs), his book differs from most of those that have appeared. For, whereas they are concerned almost exclusively with the Roman Mass, his book deals comparatively with the Mass as celebrated in early and mediaeval times in Africa, Gaul, Spain, Great Britain, Northern Italy and other western lands—not omitting Ireland, for a chapter (ch. VIII.) is devoted to the Celtic Mass. He claims that this comparison is most suggestive and illuminating, first because it reveals the fundamental unity of all the different rites despite their diversities, and then because

it throws light on the Roman rite itself. And he adds, quite reasonably, that even if the subject might seem to be exhausted by Duchesne and Batiffol and Fortescue and the rest,[1] a writer coming after them may have his own way of presenting the material.

The work constitutes a history, in very brief compass, of the Mass in the West from the earliest times to the present day. "The Mass as it is to-day," says the author in his Preface, "presents itself under a somewhat complicated form to the non-Catholic, and even to a large number of the faithful. The ceremonies, readings, chants, and formulas follow each other without much apparent method or logic. It is a rather composite mosaic, and it must be confessed that it does seem rather incoherent . . . But the historical and comparative method applied in this book explains the greater part of these anomalies, making it fairly easy to grasp the guiding lines and, once in possession of the general idea . . . to understand the whole better when light is thrown on the details." S. J. B.

Biography

CLAUDIUS. The Emperor and his Achievement. By Arnaldo Momigliano. Translated by W. D. Hogarth. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1934. 6s. net.

I, CLAUDIUS. By Robert Graves. London: Barker. 1934. 8s. net.

REVISED estimates of historical characters are very much in the fashion nowadays. If former ages were agreed in thinking such and such a personage as black as night, that is quite sufficient reason for writing a book to prove that in reality he was as bright as day. In very many cases, of course, the fashion does do tardy justice to a lost cause or a neglected hero; it only becomes ridiculous when it presents us with a picture of the Marquis de Sade as an ignored benefactor of humanity. The long line of Roman Emperors offers very hopeful material for such revision. The sombre series of portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, painted by the master-hand of Tacitus, almost cries out for it. So we have had in recent years a new Nero and a new Tiberius; we are promised a new Gaius, who should be the most interesting of all; and in these two books we have two very different presentations of Claudius, husband of terrible wives, conqueror of Britain, originator of the Imperial bureaucracy, pedantic antiquarian, stammering and verbose orator, whose apparent mental

[1] Notably Schuster, de Puniet, Maranget, and Vandeur, to say nothing of older works such as Cochem and Gihr.

and physical weakness kept him safe for fifty years of obscurity till he was bundled on the throne by the guards who found him hiding behind a curtain.

One of these books is a careful and subtle piece of historical reconstruction, the other is a very remarkable effort of the novelist's imagination working on a thorough study of available records. To compare the two would be fair to neither, because they are not in competition. Professor Momigliano's little work, which caused quite a stir on its appearance in Italian in 1932, will be warmly welcomed by students in its handsome English dress. It is rather a commentary than a complete historical study; and its apparatus of learned notes is so much increased in its English form as to make its reading a matter of serious import, which is not lessened by the subtlety of its argument.

There can be no doubt that Professor Momigliano has succeeded in his main purpose, and as a result of his work we are likely to have in future even more extensive revisions of Claudius than his own. In four brief chapters he discusses the chief aspects of the Emperor's work: his learning, his religious policy, his policy of centralising authority in his own hands, and finally the estimate of him which was first set forth in Seneca's *Apocolcyntosis* immediately on his death, and persists with little change in the writings of Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. Seneca reviled him as a bloodstained tyrant, and later writers explain his tyranny by psychologising on his alleged infirmities of character. Professor Momigliano's whole point is that he was not infirm, and that the supposed influence on him of his remarkable wives was in all probability negligible. In reality he was a clear-headed and far-seeing ruler whose purpose was fully developed in his own mind; a practical reformer who had the courage to push the work of Augustus towards its logical conclusion, even where that conclusion seemed at variance with his own earlier ideas. It was inevitable that such a policy should involve a conflict, especially in view of Claudius' succession to a man whose ill-judged effort at the complete establishment of an Oriental monarchy in Rome had nearly ruined the Empire. Professor Momigliano bases his study on the most recently-discovered documents, several of which shed new light on Claudius. Probably the most remarkable of these is a rediscovery: the edict of Nazareth threatening tomb-robbers with death, which dates from sometime after 44 A.D. and is convincingly brought into connection here with the first persecution of Christians in 49.

Mr. Graves's work is in its own way almost as valuable as

that of Professor Momigliano. Novels about ancient history are often more apt to have the flavour of Becker's *Gallus* than of romance, and the number of them that have really succeeded in being interesting can easily be counted. Mr Graves takes a most unpromising hero, a middle-aged pedant with a stammer, who has spent his life in terror of his powerful relatives, and brings him completely to life. The complicated maze of relationships within the Julio-Claudian family gives him a kind of *Forsyte Saga* background much more vivid than anything imagined by Galsworthy. He has mastered his Suetonius and Tacitus, and has woven the historical with the imaginary into a rich and complicated pattern which it is a keen pleasure to try to disentangle. Naturally enough, perhaps, when we consider its subject, his novel is not suitable for promiscuous reading, and here and there he fails to rise above obvious temptations, especially in dealing with Caligula. No one, of course, should take his judgments seriously as history: he has given us a picture of the youth of Claudius and his early middle-age which is undoubtedly vivid, and he has made his hero attractive; but it is not history. The great figure of Livia, wife of Augustus, whose impossible combination of callous crime with high statesmanship dominates the whole story, is a pure travesty; so is his Augustus, mild-mannered, uxorious, and weak, and so is his Caligula, except that Caligula only exists for us as a travesty. Mr. Graves in fact only adopts and generalises for Augustus and Tiberius the verdict of Dio on Claudius, that he was dominated by women. He heightens the effect of this restoration of the feminine by an incredible multiplication of the poisonings which gossip attributed to Livia and others. But his book has many excellent passages; what could be better than Pollio's account of Caesar's real speech before Pharsalia, for example? We look forward with anticipatory fascination to Mr. Graves's second volume on Claudius as Emperor.

M. T.

SAINT JOHN BOSCO'S EARLY APOSTOLATE. Translated from the Italian of G. Bonetti, S.C. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 7s. 6d.

DON BOSCO. Translated from the Danish of Johannes Jörgensen. Same Publishers. 1934. 5s.

ST. JOHN BOSCO. By Rev. H. L. Hughes, D.Litt. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1934. 3s. 6d.

THESE three books recount, each in its own way, the wonderful story of the life and labours of the great Saint whom the Church

this year, less than fifty years after his death, has raised to its altars.

The writer of the first, Don Giovanni Bonetti, a member of the Congregation founded by the Saint, lived for more than thirty years in close association with Don Bosco. His book is therefore the account of an eye-witness of what it records.

Don Bonetti confines his story to the first twenty-five years of the priesthood of the Saint, a period in which the foundations of the great work he was predestined to accomplish were well and truly laid.

While the book has the interest that must always belong to first-hand narratives, still it is not unjust to say that it suffers somewhat from the uncritical spirit to which, in the opinions of two biographers of Saint Ignatius, M. Henri Joly and Mr. Christopher Hollis, most popular Lives of Saints are exposed.

The second book is of quite different quality, for it is the work of one who is a consummate literary artist. Readers of his *Life of St. Catherine of Siena* will come to this biography with high expectations, and one can safely say that they will not be disappointed. Moreover, he has been fortunate in his translator, for one can say of this translation that it does not read like a translation—and no higher compliment can be paid to a translation.

Father Hughes states that his purpose was not to paint a full length portrait of the Saint, but rather to fill in the background of the canvas with the essential facts of the period in which he lived. This he has done in a fashion suitable for popular reading, and one feels that there ought to be a wide circle of readers for this compendious account of the great life of the Saint.

All three books derive from the same source—Father Lemoyne's Life (1920), which may be regarded as the official biography of the Saint, and from the same writer's *Memorie Biografische* (9 vols.). Father Bonetti's book is, of course, the record of his own experiences of the Saint, but Lemoyne's work is essentially the same, in as much as it is based on first-hand documents and accounts. Thus the three books are very similar in content, and differ only in the manner of presentation.

St. John Bosco was, indeed, not only a great Saint, but also a very great man—one of the most remarkable figures in the Italy of the nineteenth century. In reading his life one is reminded of the saying of Lacordaire—*C'est le propre des grands coeurs de découvrir le principal besoin des temps où ils vivent et de s'y consacrer.* Beyond doubt he was of the company of the "grands

coeurs " who devote themselves to the needs of their time. The work he achieved for the well-being of his fellow-men, especially in the education and care of the outcasts of society, from the purely secular point of view and apart altogether from hagiographical considerations, is sufficient to rank him among the very greatest of the benefactors of mankind.

That he was able to bring to fulfilment the tasks to which he set his hand may be taken as a proof that Divine Providence is still active in the affairs of men. He had nothing to rely upon in entering on his manifold undertakings save his trust in God and the Blessed Virgin, and that his trust was justified is evident from what he achieved.

In the eyes of the worldly the Saint may appear to have acted often without prudence, but one may imagine him replying to such a charge in the words of the great saying of St. Ignatius : " Prudence is the virtue of him who commands, not of him who obeys." And in truth Don Bosco's acts were the acts of one obedient to his commander. But for such acts one must be a Saint. W. J. W.

Economics

FRAMEWORK OF AN ORDERED SOCIETY. By Sir Arthur Salter. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 2s. 6d.

VOYAGE A TRAVERS LE CAPITALISME. By René Johannet. Paris : Editions Spes. 1934. 7 fr. 50.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION. By Lionel Robbins. London : Macmillan. 1934. 8s. 6d.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE. Report of the Director. Geneva : International Labour Office. 1934.

THE FRUITS OF FREEDOM. By H. Neville Roberts. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1934. 6d.

ECONOMICS FOR OURSELVES. By the Gobán Saor. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1934. 6d.

THE NEMESIS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM. By Joseph Johnston. London : King. 1934. 4s. 6d.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER chose as the subject of his Marshall Lectures, delivered in Cambridge last year, *The Framework of an Ordered Society,* because he believed that Marshall himself " would have been in sympathy with the increased demand which arises from the present world depression that economists should contribute what they have to give to the formation of current policy." Sir Arthur is of opinion that one of the most pressing problems of the age is the need for " supplementing our present economic system with deliberate planning." Having argued that the world

to-day is falling between the two stools of unregulated individualism and uncoordinated and hastily improvised control, he outlines proposals for a planned economic system, in which government departments, boards representative of particular industries, and an economic advisory council should each play a part, and claims that such a system would furnish "an alternative to a communism which destroys both political and personal liberty, or a fascism which at least seriously curtails the first, to a restrictive state socialism directing everything from the centre, and to an unregulated *laissez-faire* which we cannot recover if we would, and any attempt at which will cause the continuance or the recurrence of our present economic troubles."

The last phrase in this quotation begs a good many questions. It certainly would not be agreed to by M. Johannet, who sees in planning nothing but camouflaged socialism, and pleads for a continuance of private enterprise, tempered by social services and directed by the moral outlook of Christianity. A more strictly scientific criticism of planning is to be found in Professor Robbins's extremely stimulating and challenging book, where it is argued that a planned economy would necessarily involve a curtailment of the liberty of the individual, regarded both as a producer and as a consumer, would fail to distribute the resources of society as economically as a capitalistic system regulated by costs and prices, and would intensify the tendency towards self-sufficiency and economic nationalism. Indeed the thesis of this remarkable book is that the great depression is the result of too much interference by governments with the free play of private enterprise. Attempts have been made in all directions, it is pointed out, to maintain prices and wages, to prevent bankruptcies and liquidation, and to save the investor from paying the price of his errors of judgment and of accepting the consequences of his follies. The only hope of recovery, according to Professor Robbins, is to be found in a relaxation of State interference with the price structure, in the stabilization of exchanges, "the removal of trade restrictions, the freeing of the market, the restriction of restrictionism and the restoration of capitalism."

If this is the only solution of the world's difficulties, the outlook for the future is indeed bleak, because the whole tendency at the present time is in the opposite direction—towards more and more public regulation. The extent to which planning has already been adopted is the principal subject dealt with in Mr. Harold Butler's admirable Report to the International Labour Conference. Russia, Italy, Germany and the United States

have all, to a greater or less degree, abandoned private enterprise, and, as Mr. Butler very truly remarks, "the fact that four of the world's chief industrial states, containing some 400 million people and responsible for 64 per cent. of the world's industrial production, have already abjured to a considerable extent the principles which have hitherto primarily guided the economic policies of all countries seems to imply that the way to recovery cannot be straight back along the familiar tracks." Professor Robbins would no doubt reply that the impossibility of a policy's being adopted does not weaken its claim to be the best policy, and that an ideal should not cease to be advocated even although its realization is not immediately practicable. The physician will not cease to recommend temperance because he knows that his patients will disobey his instructions, nor will he refrain from dilating on the evils of alcoholism even to the inmates of an inebriate asylum.

Indeed Professor Robbins addresses himself to this very criticism in the last pages of his book, in which he admits that his voice is that of one crying in the wilderness, unfashionable and unpopular. He affirms, however, that the fact that the truth is unpopular is no reason for failing to profess it, and expresses a hope that the leaders of world opinion may prove responsive to a fresh education in the principles of economics. It is perfectly true, as he insists, that the economic policies of recent years have been imposed on the masses by the politicians and not on the politicians by the masses, who are incapable of clear thinking on complicated financial and monetary problems; and it is no less true that the conversion of the politicians to economic theories more in accordance with "the heritage of generations of subtle and disinterested thought" would result in the restoration of freer, if not of completely free, trade. If such a conversion is desirable, it must be secured by the widest possible dissemination of opinions such as those of Professor Robbins and the other contemporary exponents of "orthodox" economics.

Whether such a conversion is desirable is not for a mere reviewer to say. But what can be said, without fear of contradiction, is that any policy, whether liberal or restrictive, that is not based on a full and free discussion of the issues involved is bound to lose something in wisdom and foresight. In some of the countries where planning has been adopted, the mistake has been made of stifling all criticism of the official plan. One of the most striking paragraphs in Mr. Harold Butler's *Report* is that in which he insists that planning is not necessarily incompatible

with freedom of discussion. In Australia, Great Britain and the United States, he points out, very far-reaching measures have been taken for directing and organizing the economic life of the community by democratic governments making use of democratic procedures, and (he proceeds) "these instances encourage the belief that the necessary degree of order and public control can be achieved by means of free discussion and agreement as effectively as by other methods."

These words are not without an application to Irish affairs. Measures of considerable economic interest and importance have been and are being adopted in the Irish Free State without much discussion or criticism. Many voices are silenced by the fear of a perfectly reasonable criticism being misinterpreted, in certain sections of the press, as a lack of patriotism or as due to unworthy or interested motives. No doubt it is a common enough defect in countries new to self-government, but the Free State certainly lacks a good deal of the habit of good-tempered and well-informed discussion, without which democracy is doomed to fail. Any author, therefore, who plunges into the maelstrom of Irish economic controversy deserves to be congratulated on his courage, if not on the value of his contribution. Mr. Neville Roberts is further to be congratulated on possessing the gift of faith which moves mountains, and on providing a simple solution of difficulties which appear less easily soluble to the uninitiated ; the Gobán Saor advocates a policy of highly efficient agriculture concentrated in large farms, public works to provide employment, and the depreciation of the Irish currency ; while Mr. Johnston, himself contemptuous of self-sufficiency as an economic ideal, urges that, assuming it is accepted as a desirable end, it should at least be pursued in an intelligent way. Mr. Johnston's proposals for the repatriation of Irish capital are scarcely practicable, but no doubt he would admit this readily, pleading the same excuse as Professor Robbins, that the immediate impracticability of any proposal is no reason for not preaching it as an ultimate ideal. *The Nemesis of Economic Nationalism* is written in a vigorous and spirited style that is sometimes almost Swiftian in its intensity, and calls to mind the great pamphlets of the eighteenth century. Many of the questions propounded in Berkeley's *Querist* still remain unanswered ; the problems are still with us, but not the admirable polemic in which they were discussed.

G. O'B.

Education

A CHILD'S BOOK OF RELIGION. By the Most Rev. Archbishop M. Sheehan, M.A., Ph.D., Coadjutor of Sydney. Part I. Pp. 255. 2s. 6d. Part II. Pp. 186. 2s. Illustrated. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1934.

THE remarkable qualities of thought, structure, style, and educative efficiency of Archbishop Sheehan's previous manuals on Apologetics and Christian Doctrine, now so well known and so widely used in the secondary schools of many lands, are here evinced on a broader field of action for elementary education. There is little need to insist on the exquisitely well fitted precision of form and phrase, wedded to a most attractive sequence of reverent illustrations; but it should be emphasised that all these elements lead up to the distinctive groups of prayer and praise into which the whole texture of the lessons in true dialogue on Christian truth and life naturally issue in every one of these eight and forty lessons. It is a pleasure to know that the success of these really new and authentic aids to teaching the Catholic life of the child to expand in its full and due measure, has already, since their issue last Spring, been signally great within and without Ireland. Here, in every page, the teacher is taught how to teach spiritual truth and practice; and this essential reform of the catechetical process, warped as it too often has been in these later centuries, is so fashioned as to be also a true manual for the mind and soul of the individual child learner. Author, author's advisers whose aid is so amply recounted and acknowledged, and publishers deserve the unreserved appreciation of all schools, pupils, teachers: yes, and of examiners, too. These two volumes are a credit to and an enduring asset of Irish educational action developed in the other Ireland of Australia. T. C.

LA QUESTION SCOLAIRE. Par son Eminence le Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris. Paris: Beauchesne. 1934. Pp. 168. 12 francs.

THESE ten Pastoral Letters are, by their whole tenor, quite other than a systematic exposition of the one outstanding problem of social philosophy which they place before the intellect of modern France. The position of the secularised state in that country, as regards the education of the children of the people, is here set before Catholics and others with that eminently pastoral sense of saintly reasonableness which we all learned, two years ago, to see in the life and actions of the Archbishop of Paris during

his stay here in Dublin. The functions of the Family, the Church, the State in relation to popular education ; the void created by any essay towards Neutrality in religious and moral training ; the results of any elimination of the soul from the integral process of education, are all briefly yet most practically elucidated. At every point the working of the pastoral mind is observable : this brief exposition of principles is no mere summary selected and dried by the skill of the manualist. These letters literally win towards the truth.

Their outstanding section, however, is sure to have quite as abiding an effect in the rebalancing of social forces concerning education, as had Cardinal Lienart of Lille by his famous intervention a few years ago in the industrial domain. For Cardinal Verdier, in his central chapters and within thirty small pages, has demonstrated what was so sorely needed in the polemics of Education in France. We have at last a positive, reasoned, tense summary of the rights as well as of the duties of the State in Education. This illuminating section does define the rights of Civil Society, and does so in cogent and pervasive terms. The barriers to positive action by a State ordained of God, supreme in its own order, that of civic service and its consequent obligations, are here for the first time removed from the path of constructive Catholic thought. T. C.

COMENIUS IN ENGLAND, 1641-42. By Robert Fitzgibbon Young, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. London : Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. 100. 10s.

In this finely printed and even more finely illustrated quarto monograph Mr. Fitzgibbon Young collects, for dedication to President Masaryk, a goodly store of detailed investigation, with amply elaborated notes, on the one year within which the Moravian Bishop, Johann Amos Komensky, worked with the group of what we may call Miltonians at London. The Documents of the period are made to dominate Mr. Young's text ; and while they are all of significance and of interest they may perhaps be felt, at least by the specialist in the careers of Comenius and of his English Associates, to obscure unduly the penetrating research work achieved, about and around that whole epoch in the history of education, by the zeal and unflagging enthusiasm of Mr. Young himself. Here we have not Komensky alone, but John Durie, Jeremy Collier, Samuel Hartlib, and Archbishop Williams of York.

The great Comenian plan of a Pansophic College was ultimately

to find its issue into the English Royal Society, as Mr. Young perseveringly shows. The writer of this notice holds that there is a fair body of evidence that the Puritan Commonwealth and its thinkers in the domain of Education, who included William Petty, sought, between 1641-42 and the Restoration of Charles II, to set up Comenius in Ireland as the holder of confiscated urban property there, with a view to giving his vast educational proposals some definite outlet. At least one of the Dublin Castle Documents of 1655-1659 points clearly enough in that direction. It was obviously a definite working duty that Comenius always needed as a steadying element, amid all his rapid elaborations of educational plans and theories. The Pansophic College, which dominates Mr. Young's excellently presented narrative, would hardly have worked at all; but a Comenian System of Puritan Secondary Schools for the English Colonists within Ireland would be a functioning plan that would have well repaid study.

T. C.

L'EGLISE ET L'ENFANT. Par Marguerite Aron. Paris: Grasset. 1934. Pp. 264. 15 fr.

ONCE the opening chapters of this well-written survey are passed and the author settles down to her real aim, a contrast between the educational conditions of the land of France before and after the destructive years of the Revolutionary Period, 1789-1815, the reader will find here a wealth of evidence and of inference in a brief space. The best chapters are those that are consequent on the view of the Humanistic Renaissance; for in the chapter on that epoch there is a curious inclination to regard the aberrant tenets of Jansenism and Cartesianism in French literary education, from 1640 to 1790, as having in some way almost the same *droit de cité* as the main trends of Catholic thought. This appearance of indecision on principles is, however, well set aside in the fine pages on the development of the amplest provision for popular education made by Catholic France at the same period.

T. C.

History

L'IRLANDE. Par A. Rivoallan. Paris: Collection Armand Colin. 1934. 10.50 fr.

WE are hardly as much called upon nowadays as formerly to complain that Europe ignores Ireland, even though it still sometimes happens that Frenchmen address communications to "Dublin, Écosse, Angleterre." Books about Ireland continue

to appear, especially in France, with unfailing regularity, and in general Frenchmen show in their inquiries into our affairs that perspicacity for which they are noted. The present small book is the work of a Breton, and belongs to a series of manuals somewhat similar in scope to the Home University Library. It is remarkable what an amount of factual information as well as well-balanced opinion M. Rivoallan has succeeded in getting inside a couple of hundred pages of small size. He has evidently seen much for himself and gone for his knowledge to the best sources. His bibliography mentions the soundest books on every branch of his subject. He has a wide knowledge of Irish literature in English, and is really familiar with Gaelic, although there are many disfiguring misprints in the names of the Irish books he cites.

After an excellent chapter on Irish geography and climate, he gives a brief sketch of our history, in which his treatment of native Gaelic society is remarkable for its reproduction of the best modern views. He then turns to the present state of things, and in four chapters discusses with candour and with great impartiality our constitutional and economic problems. His chapter on Northern Ireland is particularly thorough and informative. In dealing with our complicated politics he is very successful. Here and there we meet with misapprehensions, as when he attributes to Arthur Griffith an enthusiasm for co-operation, or translates "*Fianna Fáil*" as "Guerriers de la destinée." In this latter piece of linguistic fanfaronade he is, however, very much to be excused, as the same error has been committed by noted Irishmen whose sympathies should by no means incline them thereto.

There follow four further chapters on art, literature, "forces spirituelles," life and manners, all of which will be found interesting by Irish readers as containing the opinions of a shrewd and impartial observer. Take for instance this judgment on Mr. Yeats: "Il n'a pas pénétré aussi profondément qu'il a cru le faire le secret de l'Irlande, et il a inventé une langue artificielle parce qu'il n'a pas eu de contact direct avec la vraie langue du pays." Or again his note on Æ.: "Son pantheisme, un peu rebelle dans certains cas à l'expression poétique" . . . . He gives us equally brief and pungent criticisms of Joyce and Synge, while doing full justice to their achievement. On Irish literature proper he is equally complete, though not so sure, describing *Séadna* for example as a "roman historique sur les Danois en Irlande," and saying of Padraic Ó Conaire that he "a parcouru

l'Irlande et la Russie à dos d' âne." A curious error is his apparent belief that the hornpipe is a sort of musical instrument like the bagpipes. His chapter on Irish habits and manners is extremely kind to us, yet as always observant. " L'Irlande," he says, " n'est pas matinale " ; but he is just enough to add that if we want to get up as early as they do in France, we must also go to bed early. Another instance of the detached observer's eye for what escapes the native is his remark about our hats : " Des hommes que l'on voit passer avec quelque extraordinaire chapeau tout déformé sont peut-être pauvres, mais probablement lettrés." Here M. Rivoallan has put his finger on one of our outstanding national characteristics ; he is probably not aware that he is also on the fringe of *la haute politique*. We hope his little book will be successful enough to enable him in a second edition to correct the minor errors which take nothing from its value as a fresh, friendly, and remarkably informative account of ourselves, our country, and our problems. M. T.

THE IRISH STRUGGLE AND ITS RESULTS. By L. Paul-Dubois. (English Translation edited by the late T. P. Gill). London : Longmans. 1934. 12s. 6d. net.

LIFE OF PATRICK H. PEARSE. By Louis N. Le Roux. Translated and adapted by Desmond Ryan. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1932. 10s. 6d. net.

THESE two books possess at least one feature in common—the keen sympathy with and interest in Irish affairs characteristic, as a rule, of the writings of French commentators on Ireland.

M. Paul-Dubois comes to his study of the Ireland of the years 1914-26 with the authority which rightly belongs to him as the author of a singularly well-informed and suggestive study of the Irish situation as it existed more than a quarter century ago—*L'Irlande Contemporaine* (1907). He is abundantly endowed with the temperamental sympathy necessary in any investigation into the problems of Ireland and her people. Moreover he possesses a mind of keenly analytic quality, which makes his judgments well worthy of attentive consideration even when his verdicts are damnatory, for such views cannot be regarded as begotten of prejudice.

This writer's views on the estimate formed by the Irish people on the Great War on its outbreak are, it seems to us, seriously at fault, and he is no less in error on what he conceives to have been its duty in that crisis. Such views are natural enough in a Frenchman convinced that in that war his country was a protagonist in a struggle between civilization and barbarism.

The events that culminated in Easter Week are rapidly outlined ; the writer's judgment on them is, on the whole, favourable to Ireland, though the friendly view is not seldom balanced by condemnation of particular phases of the conflict.

Having surveyed the events that led to the Treaty, he gives it as his considered opinion that the settlement thus effected was a great Irish triumph—an acknowledgment by England that " Ireland, while remaining part of the British Empire, had become mistress of her destinies."

He summarises very fairly the opposing views that manifested themselves in Ireland on the ratification of the settlement. His judgment on happenings of the succeeding years is very trenchantly stated, and is all the more impressive as it is that of a cool and unimpassioned observer who understands the points of view of both sides in the conflict of opinions. He has no reservations to make on the action of those who refused to acknowledge the verdict of the majority in the only Assembly having a right to pronounce on the question at issue. " In conscience they should have submitted : instead of which they rebelled ; they started a violent campaign against the Government and the Treaty . . . . Minds haunted by the quest of the absolute, the unconditional, hearts tormented with hatred of England ; and those whom war or politics deceived, with the inevitable cortège of men without faith in authority who take advantage of social unrest for their own profit." It is a hard judgment, but one thinks that it will be the verdict which history will pronounce, when the passions and sophisms that still cloud the issues shall have passed away.

The second book, that of M. Le Roux, which deals with the history of some of the years which are studied by M. Paul-Dubois, is marked by a similar sympathy with Ireland, but it must be said that it is composed in a much less critical spirit. The writer is " more Irish than the Irish themselves," and in many debatable issues he shows himself an impassioned partisan. In this matter of partisanship it must be said that the English version is free from some of the more blatant imperfections of the original, though it cannot be denied that it preserves all too many of them.

This is particularly true of its account of the incidents leading immediately to the Rising of 1916, especially of the two days preceding the Easter Monday. The writer has identified himself so wholly with the side he espouses that he seems to have wholly abandoned his own right to judge them. It is unnecessary to particularise, for the time has not yet come to speak of those

events as history will speak of them. It is sufficient to say that on many points of vital importance the version of them here given is plainly of partisan provenance.

As to the study of the personality of the chief figure in the Rising, it may be said that it is the work of an impassioned admirer, whose admiration extends to every aspect of the character of his subject. Patrick Pearse was in many respects a man of remarkable character, apart altogether from the political side of his life. As a man of letters he well deserves study, but one feels that the natural sympathy his tragic fate arouses has conspired with his sympathy for the man to lead the writer to exaggerate his merits on the purely literary side. Perhaps this is more evident in the judgment that is put forward on Pearse as an orator than as a poet. No doubt the man of action in Pearse dominated the man of letters, but nevertheless there is need for a study of him in the latter aspect more critical and well-balanced than is here offered. W. J. W.

MEDIAEVAL RELIGION. By Christopher Dawson. London : Sheed and Ward. 1934. 6s.

ONLY a few months have passed since Mr. Dawson was invited to give the Forwood Lectures at the University of Liverpool, and this volume takes its name from four essays which are reprints of the lectures thus delivered. Two other essays have been added on kindred topics : one of them on the *Origins of the Romantic Tradition*, which was printed in the *Criterion* of January 1932 ; the other an essay on the poetry of William Langland, which was Mr. Dawson's contribution to Messrs. Sheed and Ward's volume *The English Way*, already noticed in these columns. These two last essays are admirable specimens of Mr. Dawson's fine sense of literature and of the social influences which have conditioned its development. There is no need to add here anything further to the praise we have already given his study of *Piers Plowman*, illuminating its mystical obscurities by reference to the contemporary teachings of Catholic mediaeval society. The essay on troubadour poetry as the fountain from which our modern Romantic tradition has been derived contains some valuable comments on the essential quality of this famous school. Mr. Dawson points out the connection with Albigensian tendencies, and argues very pertinently that the philosophy of the troubadours is essentially a philosophy of this world and the flesh, not the literature of an idealised Christian chivalry. What he has to say on the inner teaching of Dante in his *Convivio*, and of the

later Dante who transcends his earlier eroticism in the philosophy and theology of the *Divina Commedia*, is well worthy of the attention of all students of this greatest of Christian poets.

The four lectures which stand at the beginning of the volume are, it must be confessed, a good deal less convincing in their analysis of mediaeval culture. The first essay in particular, on what Mr. Dawson calls "the sociological foundations" of mediaeval society, contains a sketch of the long transition from the world of ancient Rome to the world of St. Bernard and St. Thomas which is at times startlingly misleading. Labouring to compress the history of a thousand years into a few pages, Mr. Dawson has passed some generalisations on the contrast between the territorial kingdoms of mediaeval society and the universal empire of Rome which need a good deal of qualification and reserve. And the same fault of over-condensation and simplification of the facts is plain in all four lectures. But Mr. Dawson is always worth reading, for he is always suggestive; and his third lecture, on the connection between mediaeval religion and mediaeval science, contains a very searching examination of the age-old charge that the Church's theology is to blame for the sterility of scholastic cosmology. Mr. Dawson borrows here from the great learning of M. Duhem and Professor Haskins, and argues very truly that the Western world of the Roman Empire was as sterile as the later Middle Ages. Its failure to assimilate the Greek tradition of research and inquiry left the Latin tradition of the West poverty-stricken for long centuries; and the influence of Aristotle's *Physics* did but accentuate the respect for authority as against personal research. Nevertheless the exceptions were there from the twelfth century onwards; Roger Bacon is only the best known of many names. We may be pardoned for regretting that Mr. Dawson has so little to say of the one outstanding Irish genius of his period, John Scotus Eriugena, whose influence on Western thought it is not easy to overestimate. His translations from the Greek mark an epoch; and the influence of his Platonising philosophy was felt throughout the Middle Ages. A. G.

THE SEPARATED EASTERN CHURCHES. By Rev. Pere Janin. Translated by Very Rev. Canon P. Boylan, M.A., D.Litt., D.D. London: Sands. 1933. 5s.

This little handbook is the work of a distinguished French scholar; and the preface is dated from Constantinople, where the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption are renewing the

traditions of French Catholic scholarship of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Canon Boylan's name is of itself sufficient to guarantee the solid worth of the volume which he has undertaken to translate, and he has done a most useful service to all who are interested in the present state of the various Eastern Churches. For Pere Janin has aimed at an account, as complete as is possible in a popular handbook, of all the various Orthodox groups, whose past history and present differences are so bewildering to a Western reader. The information is carried down to the most recent events. The first chapter deals with the Orthodox Churches in general ; then follow chapters on the Greek, Melkite and Russian Churches ; the Churches of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania ; the Georgian and Armenian, the Syrian and Nestorian, and finally the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. Apart from the two more expensive volumes of the late Dr. Fortescue, which are now definitely out-of-date for all that has happened since the War, English readers are at a loss to find their way through all these ecclesiastical and liturgical complications. So we give this volume a hearty welcome, and hope that it will do its part in promoting the great cause of Christian reunion.

P.D.

Music

THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF GREGORIAN CHANT. By Henri Potiron. English Translation by Ruth C. Gabain. Tournai : Desclée. 1933. Belgas 5.60.

THIS book is a translation of the second edition of M. Potiron's *Le Cours d' accompagnement de l' Institut Grégorien.* (Paris : Hérelle). M. Potiron is well known to students of Gregorian Chant as an authority on his subject. His studies in collaboration with Dom Desrocquettes and the publication of this book in 1925 have marked a definite advance towards a solution of a problem that had admittedly not been satisfactorily solved. The most striking feature of the book was, of course, the modal theory it advocated—the theory of the Three Modal Groups. This theory was not entirely novel when the book was published, for from 1923 onwards it had been set forth and discussed in various articles in the *Revue Grégorienne.* The publication of this book showed that M. Potiron had adopted it as part of his course at the *Institut Grégorien*, and it can now safely be regarded as an integral part of the Solesmes teaching.

M. Potiron's treatise falls easily into three parts. Part I is a text-book of Strict Counterpoint. This is admirably done. Of course there are those who will disagree with the whole idea of teaching this subject, who will rule out as useless the " Five

Species " and the writing of exercises on a *Canto Fermo* of " fat semi-breves." This is not the place to discuss that question. Accepting the subject, M. Potiron does this section of the book remarkably well. He works in the Modes and, keeping in view that he is training the student to write Plainsong accompaniments, makes the necessary minor departures from traditional usage.

The second part of the book treats of Rhythm, and here the author comes to the heart of his subject. It is hardly necessary to say that the attitude of critics to these pages will depend on whether they accept or reject the Solesmes theory of Rhythm. At least this can be said, that the treatment is, on the whole, clear and, to our mind, conclusive. The section entitled " Rhythmic Analysis Applied to Plainsong " (p. 72) is particularly well done, and in " Practical Conclusions " (p. 75) we have a set of rules in which the sound common-sense of the author is very evident.

Part III treats of Tonality. The theory of the Three Modal Groups is here developed at some length. This theory, it is claimed, besides being original and easy of application, finds its origin in an examination of the melodies themselves. It is not possible here to give any adequate idea of it, but its point of departure may be indicated. If we admit B flat as essential, we find that three sections of the complete Gregorian Scale reproduce exactly the same succession of intervals. Now the same melodies are found in different manuscripts written sometimes in one, sometimes in another of these three different formulae. M. Potiron quotes numerous examples of whole pieces, as well as of phrases and cadences, in support of this statement. His conclusions are that " a Gregorian mode is characterised not by a complete and homogeneous scale, but by certain intervals placed below and above its tonic, and that in its development a composition either keeps within the limits of the incomplete scale or modulates more or less completely into the neighbouring scale " (p. 108). Hence Gregorian Chant is written on three incomplete scales which are independent and equivalent. Each of these scales or groups has its own essential harmonies, and there is equivalence between the three harmonic groups thus formed (pp. 109-110). A chapter entitled " Modal Rules for the Accompanist " shows the student how to apply these principles.

Altogether this is an important book, and no serious student of Plainsong can afford to ignore it. Already in its French edition it has received much notice and appreciation. Its translation into English is all the more valuable when we remember that

there has been no English book on the subject, if we except a couple written by Anglican scholars, which can be of little use to Catholic organists since they treat of the Chant as set to an English text. The translator has done her work well and deserves praise. To find exact English equivalents for many of the technical terms is not always easy. S. C. L.

Politics

MEDIEVAL THEORIES OF THE PAPACY. By Robert Hull, S.J. Collected and arranged by Edmund F. Sutcliffe, S.J. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 7s. 6d.

As things are to-day, there is probably no country in the world where clearer ideas are needed as to the proper relations of Church and State in action than here in Ireland. But our theologians have been singularly cautious in their approach of this delicate problem. All the more credit therefore is due to the editors of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, who have shown hospitality again and again to the author of these very able and learned essays in historical theology—a scholar and thinker whose sudden death two years ago leaves a gap that is not easily to be filled. The late Father Robert Hull was—so many may have thought in his lifetime—a writer more learned than brilliant, a cautious and conservative critic. But he had the great merit of knowing clearly his own mind and of stating his views in carefully chosen phrases, not too technical for the average reader of such literature, but always precise and clear. His earliest published essay, included in this volume, is a very conscientious study of the evidence available for the date of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. It is the work of a young student who is trying his hand at a difficult literary problem ; good work, with none of the young student's characteristic haste. It was published, as so much of the author's later work was to be published, in the *Record ;* and the choice of subject indicates very clearly the direction which Father Hull's reading was already taking.

Eight years later Father Hull, who had in the meantime completed his theological course at the Gregorian University and who was now Professor of Apologetics at Heythrop College, began a remarkable series of articles on the various political theories of the leading thinkers of fourteenth-century Europe. It was a time when both in England and France scholars were turning more and more to the fourteenth century as the starting-point of theories and heresies which are more usually associated

with the history of Renaissance Italy and Lutheran Germany. Rivière and Arquillière had just made notable contributions to the literature of Catholic theology in this field of research ; and in England Dr. Carlyle and Dr. Previté-Orton were the two most prominent workers in the same field. It is interesting to re-read in connected form the various reviews and articles which Father Hull published, mostly in the Irish *Record*, during the years 1928-1932. They are in form no more than notices of some recent publication ; but they contain a deal of reading and hard thinking ; and in substance they are a serious contribution to Catholic scholarship. Father Hull is, first and foremost, a technical theologian, always careful to define his terms precisely and to analyse in detail the various conclusions that are contained in a complicated theory. His articles lack the sense of historical development which illumine some recent French publications on the same subject. But they deserve careful reading by any who wish to make sure of their ground on paths that are often full of pitfalls ; and there is in each a notable growth in Father Hull's own comprehension and exposition of his subject. For a sense of history is at best a slow growth ; and Father Hull was always learning. His last contributions, two of which appeared only after his premature death in April 1932, show him at his best : face to face with the great learning and acute reasoning powers of Dr. Erich Caspar, but quietly arguing each point at issue and unwilling to recede an inch where final proof was lacking. It is indeed a thousand pities that so fine a scholar was taken from us. His example, as set forth in these few essays, should stimulate others to work that will not easily be as conscientious and as sure. A. G.

FONDEMENTS D'UNE CULTURE CHRETIENNE. Par Henri Davenson. (Cahiers de la Nouvelle Journée, No. 27). Paris : Bloud and Gay. 1934. 20 fr.

This little book is the work of a man of twenty-eight, and is published as representing the ideas and feelings of the men who were boys during the Great War and grew up in the sombre decade from 1920-1930. It is characteristically French—one might almost say European, if one did not remember race-theories and the Mysticism of the Blood—in its clarity, its logic, its determined intellectualism. If a young Englishman were to write about Culture, in all probability his book would be full of anti-war propaganda and the Great Society. This young Frenchman is highly educated : he can discuss music and science and ethnology,

and can make a sound criticism of M. Jules Maurice's view of the fourth century. But there is nothing in his book of the veiled prophesyings made familiar to the readers of Mr. Wells or the listeners of Professor Julian Huxley. He is concerned with some thing more fundamental than such vaticinations—with the nature of culture itself and the very grave question how far in any real sense it is possible for modern man.

His conclusions are not perhaps highly original, and doubtless his application of them is a trifle sketchy. The great merit of his work, which makes it remarkably readable, is the fact that he has clearly thought his views out for himself; they are the product of deep and earnest thinking by a strong and well-informed intelligence. His style makes the same impression of vigour and originality. His thesis, briefly put, is that to our time civilisation and culture, though new as terms go, have lost their meaning, have ceased to give a purpose to life

In the general sense, "culture" has become an ethnographical term; it no longer means the highest or best form of civilisation, but one of many more or less equally valuable forms, which we are taught to view with impartial and therefore uninterested eyes. In the particular sense, it has become a mere aestheticism, unrelated to life as lived by any significant body of people, an amusement for the evenings of the tired scientist, professional or business man. The problem of life for the after-war generation is this lack of an ideal. M. Davenson shows in a few brief graphic pages how one by one the ideals imagined for itself by youth—the "poetry of business," the lyrism of science, the gem-like flame of artistic or humanistic devotion—turn pale and vanish into meaninglessness because of the ever-increasing specialism that is the note of to-day. It has been often said, and it is true: the growth of technical competence is eating up culture; civilisation is sick of an interior malady, a morbid growth in its own life-centre.

What, then, is a healthy civilisation? The answer given to this question is the most effective part of the book. A healthy civilisation is one that possesses a "metaphysic" of its own—an idea not developed out of its organic growth, but born at some point of time as a doctrine, a truth, a unifying force or principle within one of its "techniques"—a message borne by its philosophy or its theology. The life of such a metaphysic is thereafter something distinct from that of its civilisation. Its function is that of control, criticism, revision, often of rejection. Apart from its action, culture *is* "ethnographical"; its presence gives

life, meaning, purpose to the whole, makes a culture into a civilisation. There have been many instances of such metaphysic: the ancient City-State had one, Buddhism has had one, so has Islam. But the greatest instance has been that of Christianity, slowly transforming the decadent culture of antiquity, creating the high civilisation of the Middle Ages, rejected by the modern world since the sixteenth century. Its rejection is what has deprived culture of a meaning, denuded life of its purpose.

In the last part of the book, the author sketches a programme for the " revision of culture " and its reintegration with a Christian metaphysic. It is here perhaps that his book is weakest, because it is harder to produce a programme of action than to criticise, and such a programme, covering not alone art and science but economics and politics, would require a whole volume and must break new ground. M. Davenson of course points out much that is essential, particularly devoting some excellent pages to individual action and asceticism. But much more is needed than he gives us, and while welcoming his theory and especially applauding his resolute repudiation of " cette stérile bourgeoisie Catholique de France, qui en un demi-siècle s' est mise successivement à la remorque de Taine, de Barrès et de Maurras," we look forward with great interest to a fuller elaboration of his practical policy in the further book he is certain to write. M. T.

Philosophy

PRECIS D'HISTOIRE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE MODERNE. Tome 1. De la Renaissance à Kant. Par Joseph Maréchal, S.J. Louvain: Museum Lessianum. 1933. 28 francs.

Pere Marechal has written a book of the very highest value, a work of scholarship, yet personal and original; written moreover in a distinguished style, lucid, compressed, worthy of its subject. His book is not a chronological history of schools and thinkers; it approaches more closely to Hegel's concept of the history of Philosophy—the record of the unfolding of thought according to the necessary laws and tendencies of its essence. Père Maréchal is concerned with the organic evolution of philosophical thought on certain questions—especially epistemological. No doubt it is the individual man who thinks; but how much is he influenced by his intellectual formation and *milieu;* and how much more by the *a priori* virtualities and implications of the problems that present themselves for solution! There will be contingent divergencies in the course of such evolutions, due to

the individual thinker. But it can be said that the great questions will present certain "logical alternatives," which will have to be explored and in which speculation will run its course to an end—whether that end be a solution or an *impasse*. Substantially the history of Philosophy is that of a living organic thing; and Père Maréchal has isolated deeply and finely the central strands and tendencies in one of the great reaches of modern thought.

He connects his period, the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, with the Greek and the Scholastic periods by a brief thread of introduction. The few pages in which he distinguishes the two modes of Greek thought, which found their complete expression in Plato and in Aristotle respectively, are very precious. The more immediate antecedents of modern philosophy, the numerous elements that went to influence the thought of Descartes—Scholasticism, Humanism, Plotinus, Occultism, the Sceptics, the Scientists, etc.—are given in considerable fulness. The large, scientific bibliography shows what work went to the making of this personal, compressed, study. Particularly valuable is the account of the work of Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, whose original syntheses show so great an affinity with the illuminism of St. Augustine and Plotinus and so little with the rationalism of Aristotle and St. Thomas.

The main part of the book is the history of the two chief movements of philsophical thought from the Renaissance to Kant—of the Rationalism which came from Descartes and the Empiricism which came from Bacon. In that double parallel movement Père Maréchal traces the working out of the "logical alternatives" which the disintegration of medieval philosophy, especially in the Nominalism of William of Occam, bequeathed. An insistence on one or other of Occam's sources of ideas, an intellectual intuition of essences or on the other hand a sensitive intuition of the individual thing led to two very different systems or movements of thought: an Ontologism which started from Descartes and passed through Spinoza and Leibnitz to end with Wolff; and an Empiricism which sprang from Bacon and through Locke, Berkeley, Newton, etc., finished with Hume. The complete and apparently unbridgable dualism between intelligence and experience in which these movements issued constituted the problem which Kant undertook to solve; and so this movement of Philosophy passes naturally into the next. Père Maréchal writes of English Philosophy from first-hand knowledge. But he is at his best in the account of Rationalism, and his studies on Spinoza and Leibnitz are masterly. He seems to have penetrated

to their meaning with rare insight and sympathy ; to have grasped the essence of their thought with all its tendencies and inspirations.

A Scholastic will feel tempted to grumble that he has not given us enough of trenchant criticism, of comparison with the norma of the *Philosophia perennis*. He may complain with some justice that Père Maréchal is just a little too respectful for the dialectic of thought, too absorbed in the pure organic evolution of mind in itself, that he is more concerned to exonerate than to criticise. But no one can fail to recognise here a masterly work. H. K.

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF AQUINAS. By Robert Leet Patterson, Ph.D., M.A., B.D. London : Allen & Unwin. 1933. 15s. net.

The aim of this volume has been well defined by its author to be an examination of " the nature and extent of such knowledge of God as St. Thomas Aquinas believed it possible for the human reason to attain without the aid of revelation." This knowledge falls naturally into three divisions : the existence of God, the nature of God, and God's relations with the world. Concerning the last two divisions especially, the Christian revelation has given mankind such abundant light and richness of knowledge that it is no longer easy to say just exactly how far the human reason left to itself could have advanced in this field. It is hardly accurate to say that the strictly philosophical knowledge of God which is represented in this volume as St. Thomas's estimate of the fruit of the labours of unaided reason was actually attained by St. Thomas or could ever be attained by the normal philosopher without the aid of revelation. Certainly, neither Plato nor Aristotle ever formulated, and probably never attained to anything like the complete and systematic theodicy which Dr. Patterson has very ably put together from the works of St. Thomas.

Unlike the Greek philosophers, St. Thomas knew by revelation : firstly, the pitfalls he must avoid ; secondly, the most fruitful lines along which to direct his thought ; thirdly, the perfect Original, Whose " imagines et vestigia " he must look for in the world and to Whom his outline sketch must not be unfaithful. Even if he did not actually use arguments drawn from revelation, his reason was already illuminated by faith before he began to apply it to this problem of God. None the less it is true to say that once achieved the human reason can recognise that this body of knowledge about God (while perhaps unlikely, if not morally impossible, to be put together without revelation) rests on arguments and facts that in no way depend

for their validity on revealed dogma. As so often in intellectual and other problems in this life, while we might not have been able to work out the complete solution ourselves, we see, once the solution is presented to us, both its truth and the possibility of it being discovered by the unaided human intellect as such.

Of the five hundred odd pages of this volume something like four hundred are a translation, or perhaps better an "englishing" of St. Thomas's actual words. Dr. Patterson has done a very useful and not too easy work carefully, conscientiously and honestly. He has gathered and arranged in an orderly and scientific way the main body of doctrines and arguments concerning God found widely scattered up and down the various works of St. Thomas. The result is that a reasonably clear and complete picture of St. Thomas's natural theology as a scientific whole is presented to his readers. Such a work is more than usually timely and suitable in a country where altars are few and where on too many of these few the inscription might well read—"To the Unknown God." It is, moreover, from many points of view very desirable, if a little surprising, that it should be accomplished by, we presume, a non-Catholic and come from such a very modern seat of learning as the Univeristy of London. For now, as St. Paul wrote to the people of another pagan imperial capital, "they are inexcusable." Dr. Patterson will probably agree that the more valuable part of his book is the four-fifths which were written by St. Thomas himself in the middle of the thirteenth century. The intervening six centuries of progress in knowledge, culture and power, and of keen, hostile criticism have left the intellectual edifice constructed by St. Thomas more than substantially intact and have been able to add little or nothing to it. This the author fully realises, and the spirit of Dr. Patterson's book is on the whole one of admiration for the solidity and beauty of St. Thomas's architecture rather than any regretful belief that he is sketching the ruins of a vanished greatness.

As might be expected, there are some points on which Dr. Patterson finds himself unable to agree with St. Thomas. Passing over some minor points of disagreement, his three chief difficulties have a certain interest: the doctrine of analogy and the closely connected doctrine of the degrees of being or reality (p. 247 *f.*); "the attempt to harmonise the Aristotelian and the Christian conceptions of God"—which, Dr. Patterson asserts, breaks down "owing to the impossibility of reconciling the multiplicity of objects known and willed by the Deity with the simplicity of the Divine Essence"; and finally, St. Thomas's distinction between

" real relations " and " relations of reason." These are undoubtedly questions of no small complexity, and the author has been unable to find a satisfactory explanation in the most recent and authoritative writings on St. Thomas from the Catholic side—which, by the way, seem well known to him. He crosses swords with such writers as Père Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., and Fr. Joyce, S.J. When they failed to convince him, a mere reviewer may be pardoned for distrusting his ability to succeed and for doubting the utility of the attempt. There are certain points, however, which would justify a vigorous protest from any lover of St. Thomas, Catholic or non-Catholic. And there is one which positively demands an unequivocal rejection and denial. On page 61 Dr. Patterson states : " But he [St. Thomas] did emphatically deny that the truth of the doctrine of creation could be demonstrated philosophically ; " and he gives as his only reference " *Cf.* the De Aeternitate Mundi." Now this is absolutely false and an injurious calumny on St. Thomas. In the very work cited by Dr. Patterson, St. Thomas calls the doctrine attributed to him now : " error abominabilis " both from a philosophical and a theological point of view. We trust a scholar of Dr. Patterson's standing will know how to make *amende honorable.*

E. J. C.

WILLIAM JAMES ET LE PRAGMATISME RELIGIEUX. Gilbert Maire. Paris : Denoël et Steele. 1933. 20 fr.

We might easily contest the propriety of calling William James one of *les Maîtres de la Pensée Religieuse* and of devoting to him the second volume in a series in which the first volume is M. Jolivet's brilliant study of St. Augustin. The propinquity if these two men might surprise each of them. But in itself the work of M. Gilbert Maire is a valuable study of one of the most independent and influential (at least by way of reaction and stimulation) of modern thinkers. M. Maire has traced, with remarkable fulness of knowledge and fineness of analysis, the growth of the ideas—if not the system—of William James. This growth is a series of reactions and rejections rather than of absorptions and acceptances. The dominating religious influence in which James was born was the mystical spirituality of Swedenborg ; and though he soon emancipated himself from it, yet his interest in the religious question, which deepened as he grew older, may have been due to this early influence. M. Maire gives a very detailed account of the development of Swedenborgism and of its influence in philosophy and politics.

The mental growth of James is curious to watch. His father's unconventional views had made his son's early education scrappy and haphazard. Then came a long period of hesitation before the choice of a career, during which he was attracted successively by painting, chemistry, natural science, biology and medicine. At last and almost imperceptibly he found his true *métier*, psychology. A mental crisis, in which he saved himself by clinging to texts of Scripture, Old and New, was decisive in his philosophical life, as it confirmed him in the doctrine of the freedom of the will, which gave his thought its definite orientation.

Renouvier was one of his strong early influences ; and he was also attracted by the psychologists Wundt and Fechner. His whole philosophical career might be considered as a long campaign against the almost universal domination of Hegel. To Hegelian intellectualism and monism James opposed the data of experience, which presents a pluralistic universe. His doctrine of the pragmatic value of truth was one of his chief weapons in this struggle. But the most momentous influence on James's thought was Bergson, whose books—especially *Matière* and *Mémoire* and *L'Evolution Créatrice*—he hailed with a lyrical enthusiasm. James felt vaguely that his own system led ultimately to Bergsonism, but he never quite found his way there.

In his religious philosophy he comes closest to the epistemology and metaphysics of Bergson—to Bergson's intuition of reality as pure duration. A Scholastic or Catholic cannot share M. Maire's approval of James's religious philosophy. He certainly did a service to truth when he showed that the phenomena of mysticism constitute a distinct field for psychological observation and consequently for scientific and metaphysical explanation. But his explanation of Religion, in which the subconscious plays so overwhelming a part, is fantastic. For James the world presented by experience is pluralistic ; but individuals are in contact with a vast subliminal region of the subconscious, as islands join together at the bottom of the sea or as trees intertwine their roots in the ground. In " this common reservoir of consciousness " all individuality is merged. This is the region of Religion ; it is the ultimate reality, which is reached only by a super-sensible intuition. Such a theory makes unintelligible the truth of personal identity and of personal moral obligation ; it is incompatible with the transcendence of God ; it is merely a veiled pantheism.

H. K.

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Lord, A. H. As Little Children. Stories. (Washbourne & Bogan, 2/6).
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Messenger, E. C. Rome and Reunion. Papal Pronouncements. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
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THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, ESQ. | WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN, ESQ.

PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY, ESQ. | CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.

CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, ESQ. | ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 30th day of July, 1934.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1934, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£41,985	16	7
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	30,824	13	5
	£72,810	10	0
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Eleven per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	30,310	10	0
	£72,810	10	0

The Reserve Fund now stands at £660,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 16th July, 1934.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1934.

Dr. Cr

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000, amount paid up £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	987,176 14 5
Reserve Fund	660,000 0 0	„ Investments, viz.:—	
Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,264,402 19 10
Less: Held by the Bank ... 42,531 0 0	507,469 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	271,465 1 0
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,050,767 2 11		6,523,044 15 3
Sundry Agents	22,884 7 10	„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,087,708 3 9
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,858 0 9	„ Sundry Agents	7,167 10 4
Profit and Loss Account ... £72,810 10 0		„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	191,868 12 2
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	62,810 10 0		
	£12,809,789 1 6		£12,809,789 1 6

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1934.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	108,814 9 2	By Balance from last Account ...	30,824 13 5
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	„ Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Douthful Debts and Contingencies	150,800 5 9
Dividend to be paid in August, 1934, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0			
Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0			
Balance to next Acct. 30,310 10 0			
	62,810 10 0		
	£181,624 19 2		£181,624 19 2

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing rofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 0th June, 1934, is in excess of the amount at which they and in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and ills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's fairs according to the best of my information and the explanaons given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.),
Chartered Accountant Auditor.

UBLIN, 16th July, 1934.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
PATRICK J. BRADY,
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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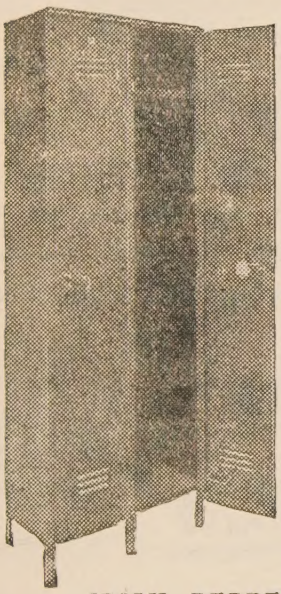

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